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BOOK TWO

THE HANOVERIAN PERIOD AND AFTER 1714-1930

By

G. W. SOUTHGATE, B.A.

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1714–1930

BY
GEORGE W. SOUTHGATE, B.A.

Illustrated with 29 maps

J. M. DENT AND SONS LTD.
BEDFORD ST. LONDON W.C.2
TORONTO VANCOUVER
MELBOURNE WELLINGTON

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE TEMPLE PRESS, LETCHWORTH, HERTS
FIRST PUBLISHED 1930
REPRINTED 1930, 1931, 1933

PREFACE

In this volume an attempt is made to present to the pupils in upper forms the more important aspects of the history of Great Britain during the past two centuries. It is a continuation of the author's work, already published, on the Tudor and Stuart periods, and, though each volume is complete in itself, together they offer a course of English history since the Renaissance for the use of girls and boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen.

In view of the advance in the general education of the pupils between these years, an attempt has been made to use simpler language in the earlier part of the whole work than in its later chapters. The advance in this respect has been gradual, and, it is hoped, imperceptible, but there will be no difficulty in recognising that the style of the latter part of the second volume is definitely more advanced than that of the earlier part of the first volume.

In the selection of material for inclusion the author has kept in mind the view that girls and boys who study history at school should become acquainted with the existence of the chief political and social questions which are to be met with in the world of to-day. The military aspect of modern history has been cut down as far as possible, and, while the circumstances leading to campaigns and battles, and their results, have been described fully, no attempt has been made to deal thoroughly with strategy and tactics, it having been felt that these belong properly to the domain of the student of purely military history. Space has thus been available for the consideration of the development of industry and trade, communications and local government, foreign policy, the British Empire and its chief component parts, and the League of Nations.

It has been felt to be futile to ignore the existence of controversial questions. They have not been discussed, but their existence has been mentioned, and, it is hoped, mentioned

without bias. (The one instance—the League of Nations—in which the author has felt at liberty to express decided opinions can hardly be regarded as controversial, since few men will be found to-day who will deny the desirability of supporting the work of the League.) It is hoped that those who read this book will realise that as the present is the product of the past, so the future will evolve from the present, and that they will be called upon in course of time to form opinions and make decisions for themselves on the questions referred to.

No encouragement has been given in this work to the notion that British history can be studied in isolation, apart from that of the rest of the world. Certain features of general history have been treated fully in order that the position of Great Britain in relation to other countries may be understood.

The maps have been made as simple as possible, and, when the book is used for examination purposes, will prove suitable for memorising. Each map is intended to illustrate a definite section of the work, and irrelevant information has been excluded. Battle plans have not been included.

The summaries will, it is hoped, be of value to candidates for examination, and their use should reduce the amount of mechanical note-taking required of pupils whose time is already fully occupied. In view of the inclusion of these summaries it has not been thought advisable to interrupt the continuity of the text by the insertion of paragraph headings.

The abridgement of military history has not been undertaken from any desire to belittle the importance of the achievements of this country, but from a conviction that other factors have not always received adequate recognition. The author is confident that the readers of this book will, by a consideration of social, economic and political progress at home and throughout the British Empire, and of what has been done overseas in the conversion of the Sudan from a barbaric to a civilised province, in the rehabilitation of Egypt, in the organisation of famine relief in India, and in many other ways, find ample ground for pride in the achievements and for confidence in the future of their country and their race.

G. W. S.

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INTRODUCTION

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

GEORGE I, the first Hanoverian king of this country, ascended the throne by reason of a clause in the Act of Settlement of 1701. He was a great-grandson of James I, and his line was selected by Parliament for the crown in preference to the elder branch of the Stuarts because he was a Protestant, while the son of James II was a Roman Catholic. At the close of the reign of James II the nation, through its representatives in Parliament, had expressed its determination never again to allow a Papist to ascend the throne. In some respects James's son, known as the Pretender or the Chevalier, was preferable to the Elector of Hanover. He was twenty-five years old at the time of Queen Anne's death, he was of better moral character than his rival, and he was an Englishman. George was more than twice as old as the young Stuart claimant, his character was anything but admirable, and he was a German. His manners, his way of life, his outlook, his friends were German; he spoke German, and he never acquired more than a few words of the English language. If the Chevalier had consented to abandon the Roman Catholic faith and adhere to the Church of England it is probable that the Tories would have succeeded in establishing him as king in succession to his half-sister, Anne; the necessary alteration in the Act of Settlement would have been agreed to by Parliament without difficulty. But, unlike Henry IV of France, he would not change his religion for a crown, and German George became King of Great Britain.

The Stuart monarchy had been based on the principle of the Divine Right of kings, with its attendant rule of hereditary succession. The application of this rule in 1714 would have led to the enthronement of the Pretender; since George I was not next heir to Anne by hereditary right he was unable to claim Divine Right. He held his crown, in fact, by parliamentary right, and not by Divine Right, and neither he

nor any of his successors could put forward the extreme claims which were so frequently made by the kings of the seventeenth century. Divine Right ceased to exist in England after 1714.

The fact that Parliament in 1689 deposed a king and chose another, and again exercised its right of choice in 1701, indicates that the supreme power in the state now rested with Parliament. All the questions that vexed the politicians of the Stuart period were settled. Parliament met regularly (it necessarily met every year), the ministers of the crown were men who were acceptable to the House of Commons, and the main lines of national policy were open to the criticism of Parliament, and could not be carried forward without modification in the teeth of parliamentary disapproval.

These consequences followed naturally from the accession of George I; from the fact that he was a German and could not speak English certain other results developed in course of time. Had the throne been occupied by an Englishman these further results would not have appeared so soon, and it is possible that constitutional development would have taken a different course.

The more important ministers of the Crown met regularly in private to discuss state affairs; those who were entitled to attend these meetings formed the cabinet. Before 1714 such meetings took place in the presence of the sovereign, who presided, and the discussions resulted in advice being offered to the king on the conduct of public affairs. This advice did not always represent the unanimous opinion of the ministers present, and different courses of action might be suggested to the sovereign from opposite sides of the council table. George I did not attend meetings of his ministers because he did not understand the language in which their discussions were carried on. They continued to meet regularly, but in the king's absence one of their number was necessarily chosen to preside. He was, of course, the most influential, the most important of them. The office of Prime Minister thus came into existence. The Prime Minister always held another office, often a sinecure post. Until the twentieth century he was not recognised officially as Prime Minister, but was known as the holder of the other appointment. But in fact the office dates from the time of Walpole, who was the first Prime Minister, though he was accustomed to deny the fact.

The Prime Minister was from the first something more than

chairman at a meeting of his colleagues. George I and, after him, George II took very little interest in English internal affairs, being content to leave them to the politicians. The Prime Minister, therefore, became in effect the ruler of the country. He reported to the king the decisions arrived at by the cabinet, and he did not report the discussions and disagreements which might have arisen. The decisions would be presented to the king as the unanimous advice of the ministers who were present when they were reached. As time went on the Prime Minister secured other rights and duties. As the early Georges were interested to so small an extent in English affairs they cared little who were appointed to hold the great offices of state, so that even the duty of appointing ministers devolved upon the Prime Minister. He, of course, appointed his political friends and excluded his political opponents, and it soon became a recognised principle that ministers must belong to the same political party as the Prime Minister. The dissensions of an earlier date, when the sovereign presided and ministers might be chosen from both parties, ceased, for evidently men of one political group would think alike on the questions that arose from time to time. If they did not, they would soon cease to belong to the party, and those who found themselves in opposition to the Prime Minister would resign. Party government existed at least as early as the middle of the reign of William III, but neither then nor in the time of Queen Anne was it so firmly established as to be regarded as inevitable. But with the withdrawal of the Georges from English political life and the development of the office of Prime Minister the principle became firmly rooted in the British Constitution.

The party which dominated English affairs during the first two Hanoverian reigns was that of the Whigs. They were pledged to maintain the principles of parliamentary supremacy and the Protestant succession, while their opponents, the Tories, were divided or lukewarm on these matters. While the Tories were of doubtful loyalty to the reigning house, while they were suspected of being well-disposed towards the idea of a Stuart restoration, it was out of the question for the king to entrust the work of government to a Tory Prime Minister, supported by a band of Tory colleagues. Under George I and George II only Whigs held office. The ruling party was not always united. On three occasions disagreements arose which for a time split the party, and while some Whigs were in

office others were in opposition. But these dissensions did not touch the root matters which divided Whigs from Tories; on the maintenance of the Revolution settlement and the Protestant succession the Whigs were of one mind.

The inactivity of the first two Georges in English affairs was due to their being strangers in a strange land. George I was an elderly man in 1714; George II was a grown man when his father became King of Great Britain. They were Germans, and if they cared little for England they cared much for Hanover. In so far as the weight of British influence abroad could affect Hanoverian affairs they were determined that it should be used to support their position on the continent, and in consequence they were more active in matters of foreign policy than in anything relating to British internal affairs. It has been suggested, indeed, that in their time and by their influence British interests abroad were neglected or were subordinated to those of Hanover. It has even been asserted that Great Britain was dragged into continental wars in which Hanoverian rather than British interests were involved. There is little foundation for such ideas. During the first Hanoverian reign there was real possibility of war occurring between Sweden and Hanover on a matter in which Great Britain was not directly concerned; the presence of a British fleet in the Baltic possibly prevented the outbreak of war. But the sending of a fleet to the Baltic at that time could be justified on other grounds. Other wars, in which Great Britain actually took part, were struggles in which important British interests, naval, colonial and commercial, were concerned, and this country would have been involved in them if no Hanoverian connection had existed at all.

The establishment of the House of Hanover was not without its effect upon the Church of England. During the Stuart period the Church had been in close alliance with the Crown, and the principles of Divine Right, non-resistance and hereditary succession had been taught by the clergy to their people. The overthrow of the Stuarts and the establishment of William of Orange as king had placed the clergy in difficulties which still existed now that George I was on the throne. Divine Right could be preached no longer; the priest who expounded it in his pulpit and applied it to the circumstances of his time would be teaching his congregation that the Pretender was rightful king. Such preaching would be punishable as sedition,

if not as treason. Yet a church should not vary its teaching from time to time. Its doctrines are supposed to be eternally true, and to deny to-morrow what was yesterday affirmed to be right is to forfeit all influence and all claim to respect. In the reign of William III some hundreds of the clergy gave up their posts and became Non-Jurors rather than submit to the new order of things. Others did not, but the difficulty was felt, and during the first half of the eighteenth century the influence of the Church upon the people was less than it had ever been before or than it has been since. Most of the parish clergy were Tory, but during a period of Whig rule the bishops were necessarily Whig, since the appointment of bishops had in practice passed from the king to the Prime Minister. These wealthy Whig prelates passed their time in London, at Bath, or at other fashionable resorts, and, although there were notable exceptions, most of them shamefully neglected their dioceses. Tory priests and Whig bishops were out of touch with each other. The bishop neither supported nor supervised the work of the priest. Small wonder if parish clergy grew lax and neglected their work. Their social position was little above that of the peasantry among whom their lives were passed. Among the people the practice of religion was neglected. During the Tudor and Stuart periods men had contended fiercely on religious questions. Such struggles are absent from the history of the eighteenth century. Men had ceased to care, and only the most thoughtful of Englishmen were alive to the necessity for a new reformation in the Church. Such a reformation was attempted in the movement associated with the name of John Wesley.

THE HANOVERIAN PERIOD AND AFTER

CHAPTER I

THE WHIGS

THE Whig and Tory parties in the eighteenth century are sometimes thought of as though they were identical with the Liberal and Conservative parties in the nineteenth century. Although there is some historical continuity (the Tory party developed into the Conservative in the time of Peel, and the Whigs became the Liberals under Gladstone), the difference between the two groups in the early Hanoverian period is to be found in circumstances other than those which divided them in the time of Victoria. Neither party was in the eighteenth century in any way democratic, neither was prepared to undertake great social reforms, and both would have been appalled at the very suggestion of giving every man the right to vote.

The fundamental difference between them was to be found in their attitude to the reigning house. The Whigs were committed to the support of the Revolution and to the maintenance of the principles of parliamentary supremacy over the Crown and of religious toleration (for Protestant Dissenters, at least). The Tories, on the other hand, although (except for an insignificant minority) they were no longer active partisans of the House of Stuart, were in the position of accepting what they could not alter, and it was felt that, if the Stuarts made a determined effort to recover the throne, less strenuous resistance would be offered to them by the Tories than by the Whigs. Consequently, George I and George II entrusted the government of the country to that party which was resolved upon the continuance of the Hanoverian line, and the Tories were excluded from office until they were purged of all taint of Jacobitism.

The general policy of the Whigs is often described by the expression, "laissez-faire." *Laissez-faire*, however, was not limited to the Whigs; it was a philosophy of government which was widespread in the eighteenth century, and it is probable

that if the circumstances of the time had been such that the Tories and not the Whigs had ruled the country a *laissez-faire* policy would still have been pursued.

The policy of *laissez-faire* consists of "leaving things alone," of undertaking the minimum amount of government interference in the affairs of the nation. It may be pointed out that all governments are concerned with certain spheres of national activity, while there are others in which no government would intervene; there are also many matters in which a government may interest itself or may not. National defence is a matter in which all governments are interested; the ruler who regards the defence of his territory from external attack as no concern of his soon ceases to be a ruler. Likewise, the maintenance of order within the state and the settlement of disputes between citizens are matters to which a government cannot be indifferent. On the other hand, a government in modern times would hardly think of dictating to its subjects the cut and colour and material of their clothes, the time of their meals, or the hour of their rising and retiring. In time past, indeed, there have been governments which have made rules on these subjects, but they are nowadays regarded as definitely outside the province of government. There are many intermediate matters, however, in which some governments interfere while others do not. Shall trade be regulated, or shall it be free, i.e. unregulated? Shall every child be taught to read and write, or is education to be left to the discretion of the child's parents? Shall all the people be vaccinated periodically, or is this to be optional? Shall the press be free, or subject to censorship? Shall a man's religion be that of his own choice, or must he conform to the religion of the state? On these and a hundred other questions governments are and for a long time have been divided. At the present time, indeed, the tendency in nearly all countries seems to be for the government to increase its sphere of activity—to interfere in more and more matters that formerly it left alone. Two centuries ago, in this country, the tendency was in the opposite direction—to reduce government activity to a minimum.

Laissez-faire, then, is a policy which includes the maintenance of order, the defence of the country, and as little else as possible. Naturally, there were many things in which the government had to interest itself from time to time, but, at least, the Whigs did not seek to establish great reforms for their own sake. It

might almost be said that the test by which a government in the eighteenth century was judged was not, "How well has it ruled?" but, "How much has it ruled?" and the smaller the extent of its interference in public affairs the more satisfactory it was felt to be.

Religion was a matter in which Tudor and Stuart kings had concerned themselves. They had prescribed a state religion, a pattern to which all men were expected to conform, and, though this pattern varied from time to time in the Tudor period, men were given no choice of religion. Even as late as the reign of Charles II men were punished if they attempted public worship in any meeting-place other than that of the Church of England. But in 1689 the principle of toleration for Protestant Dissenters was established by the Whigs, and people were no longer compelled to be of one religion. What happened was that religion was removed from the list of things over which the Government exercised control. Complete freedom for all religious bodies was not secured until well into the nineteenth century, but the main principle was secured at the Revolution. The establishment of toleration was the triumph of *laissez-faire* in the sphere of religion.

A press censorship which existed in Stuart times ceased in the year 1695. From that date the Government has not (except at special times of national danger and for short periods only) interfered with the freedom of the press, and a printer is at liberty to publish anything that is not positively libellous. The dissemination of news is now a form of activity which is not subject to control by the state.

The trade of the country was subject to an elaborate system of regulation. It was held that national prosperity demanded that a "favourable" balance should exist with every country with which trade was carried on, i.e. the British exports to that country should exceed in value the imports from it. In order to secure this end duties were imposed on most articles of import and on many of export, and they might be increased or diminished in order to reduce or extend the volume of trade in any direction desired. If an increase of customs duty failed to effect an adequate reduction in a particular branch of trade prohibition might be resorted to; when a reduction of duty failed to bring about a sufficient expansion the duty might be removed altogether, and a bounty might even be substituted for it. This elaborate system of regulation was in accordance

with the theory of "Mercantilism," and it involved the constant and vigilant attention of the Government to the state of trade. It is not to be expected that the Whigs would discard a system which every business man thought vital to British prosperity, but they made certain modifications which had the effect of reducing the amount of regulation to which trade was subject. Walpole abolished the duties on a large number of articles of import and export, but the entire abolition of the system and the establishment of free trade in its place was the result of a movement which extended over more than a century, and which was not complete until the time of Peel and Gladstone.

Under the Navigation Acts passed during the Stuart period colonial trade was subject to strict regulation in the interests of Great Britain. The colonies were regarded not as new nations in their infancy but as outposts destined to be permanently under the direction and control of the mother-country, which protected them and made use of them. Colonial products were either enumerated or non-enumerated, and those on the enumerated list might be sent only to this country, although non-enumerated articles of export might be sold elsewhere. All colonial exports, whether enumerated or non-enumerated, were to be carried in British or colonial ships. The Whig policy of *laissez-faire* was inconsistent with this system of colonial trade regulation as with the regulation of trade at home. The Whigs, however, were no more likely to stir up trouble by attempting the abolition of the one than of the other. But the system was not vigorously enforced during the period of Whig rule. Smuggling (trading in contravention of the regulations) was so common that colonial traders must have experienced little inconvenience from the existence of the system.

The industry of the country had been subject to strict regulation in years long past. By the Statute of Artificers, 1563, the rates of wages to be paid to workmen in every standard industry which existed in a district were fixed by the local justices of the peace, the schedules of wages being subject to annual revision. By the requirement that entrants into an industry should undergo apprenticeship for a period of seven years, unskilled persons were prevented from obtaining employment in it. The system worked fairly well and was not unfair nor unpopular, and under it the working classes enjoyed a

considerable degree of prosperity. It continued throughout the Stuart period, but with the advent to power of the Whigs it fell into disuse. Before the Industrial Revolution began *laissez-faire* had triumphed in the realm of industry, and the conditions of labour which prevailed when factories came into existence were in no way under government control.

Whig financial policy was, according to the principles then held, sound. The National Debt was regarded as a serious encumbrance to the nation, and, while no consistent and adequate scheme for its extinction was evolved, every statesman felt that the financial position of Great Britain could not be regarded as satisfactory until the debt had been paid off. As prosperity increased, the rate of interest on the debt was reduced, and when funds were available a few thousands of pounds of the principal were redeemed. During the twenty years of Walpole's rule the dead weight of the debt was reduced by several millions. But Whig statesmen were equally desirous of reducing taxation, and such a course is not consistent with the extinction of debt at a rapid rate. National revenue at this time was based chiefly on the land tax, which was imposed for the first time under William III, on the excise on alcoholic liquors established under Puritan rule and made permanent at the Restoration, and on the immense mass of customs duties referred to above. The burden of the land tax fell upon landowners, and the Whigs were a party of country squires. It was one of the objects of Walpole's financial policy to conciliate his followers by a reduction in the rate of the tax. At the same time he attempted to increase the volume of general trade by reducing the number and the amount of the customs duties, so that the work of debt redemption proceeded slowly.

The foreign policy of the Whig party in the reigns of George I and George II was based upon the settlement of European affairs effected at Utrecht in 1713. At the time it was made the Peace of Utrecht was opposed violently by the Whigs, who stigmatised it as a betrayal of national interests for Tory purposes. There seemed to be a possibility that the Whigs, on their accession to power in 1714, would reopen the whole Spanish Succession question and renew the war. They did not do so, however, and in little more than a year the death of Louis XIV changed the character of the European situation completely. It was to the personal interest of the

regent of France to maintain the Utrecht settlement, and the English Whigs were ready to join with him in opposing the Spanish king's efforts to overthrow it. Yet Whig statesmen were by no means of one mind as to the extent to which it was desirable to go. While men of the type of Stanhope and Carteret were prepared to plunge the country into the turmoil of European war, others, such as Walpole and Townshend, regarded the continuance of peace and the withdrawal of Great Britain from European complications as essential to the country's prosperity. While Walpole was in power, from 1721 to 1742, he made every effort to avoid war.

It has been pointed out above that the fundamental difference between the two parties was of such a nature that only the Whigs could expect to hold office under George I and George II. The support of the crown was supplemented by that of the nation. Whig rule was popular and Whig statesmen were trusted. Under their guidance the prosperity of the nation increased. Trade expanded, merchants grew rich, and the working classes lived in some degree of comfort. Yet even the steady and consistent support of crown and nation is hardly sufficient to account for the maintenance of Whig rule without a break for half a century. It must be remembered that, since the reign of William III, the constitutional principle that a ministry must be supported by a majority in the House of Commons had been fully established. The Whig majority in the House of Commons was maintained by corrupt means. Under the guidance and control of Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, the "System" was evolved, with its twin branches of activity, parliamentary management and electioneering. By parliamentary management was meant the various arts, devices and expedients by which members of Parliament were attached to the Whig party. It would not be exactly true to say that Whig members were bribed to support their party; rather, since they were Whigs and supported the party, they expected that any request they made to the leaders of the party should receive sympathetic consideration. One man might hope for a knighthood, another for a peerage, a third would beg a colonial appointment for his cousin, a fourth, whose brother had entered the Church, might apply on his behalf for some vacant ecclesiastical appointment, while yet another might demand the post of hall-porter in some public building for the son of an old servant. Some men were wealthy, and cared

little for monetary bribes; others, in more limited circumstances, eagerly sought pensions and sinecure posts. Newcastle knew the men of his party and was able to keep in touch with all of them. He held the post of Secretary of State from 1724 till 1754 and was Prime Minister from 1754 till 1761 (with one brief interval) and during the whole of this period he controlled the System which kept his colleagues in their places. Electioneering consisted of the means by which elections were managed. In many boroughs the election was under the control of some local landed proprietor (some great nobles held a number of these pocket boroughs), and in such cases Newcastle's task was to attach the patrons of these places to the party. In other boroughs the election was more open, and a variety of methods was applied by the party agents to secure the support of the electors. The reader of *Pickwick Papers* will not need to be reminded of the election at Eatanswill, which, though it referred to a period a century later, illustrates the methods of bribery, intimidation, treating, trickery and fraud that were employed.

Whig rule, on the whole, was beneficial to the country. Whig statesmen were not idealists, but they were practical men who held that the best service they could render to the country was to keep it out of war and to leave it alone to develop its industry and trade without interference. By their action, or, rather, their inaction, they afforded the Jacobites few opportunities to move on behalf of the Stuarts. The Georges were firmly established on the throne, and when the Whigs at length fell from power the Stuarts had ceased to be a menace to the House of Hanover.

CHAPTER II

JACOBITE ACTIVITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Tory attempt to establish the Pretender as king upon the death of his half-sister Anne, in 1714, failed, and its organiser, Bolingbroke, fled to France. But the execution of the plot was only postponed; in 1715 a serious effort was made to dethrone George I and put his rival in his place. Risings were planned to break out simultaneously in the Highlands, the Lowlands, and the north of England, and the Jacobites expected substantial help from Louis XIV. The old King of France died, however, a few days before the rebellion was due to begin. His successor in the government of France, the Duke of Orleans, regent for Louis XV, wished to remain on good terms with George I, and the Jacobites received no French help.

The Union of England and Scotland was not yet ten years old and was disliked by the people of Scotland—a fact which accounted for some of the support received by the rebels. In the Lowlands Lord Kenmure raised a small body of troops and crossed the border to join the English insurgents under Forster in Northumberland. But the rebels had no plan. They wandered back into Scotland and were joined by two thousand men under Mackintosh at Kelso. At length they made a raid into Lancashire, and at Preston, after a feeble resistance, they surrendered to the royal troops which opposed them.

In the Highlands the rising was more serious, and under better management might have caused grave trouble to the Government. The clansmen were simple and ignorant, fierce and bloodthirsty, and were devoted to their chieftains, many of whom were men of education, attached to the Roman Catholic Church. The Duke of Argyll, however, the most powerful of the Highland chiefs, who could raise five thousand men, was a Presbyterian and a Whig, and was the leading supporter of the House of Hanover in Scotland. John Erskine, Earl of Mar, began the revolt by assembling his friends at

Braemar under pretext of organising a hunting-party. He was soon in command of a large force, with which he advanced and took Perth. Had he acted with vigour he might have moved upon Edinburgh, but he waited while Argyll was collecting his men. The two armies met at Sheriffmuir, and in spite of the bravery of the Jacobites the advantage remained with Argyll, Mar falling back upon Perth. The Pretender landed at Peterhead, but his coming made little difference to the cause. He joined Mar at Perth, but after a few days retreated to Montrose, whence he returned to France. His followers dispersed, and the rebellion was over. A few of the leaders in England and Scotland were hanged or beheaded, two or three escaped from prison, and the rest were pardoned. The collapse of the rebellion was obviously due to the inadequacy of the plans of the leaders, to their mismanagement of their forces, to the absence of outside aid, and, above all, to the determination of the mass of the people of Great Britain not to reverse the Revolution settlement.

Yet the circumstances under which the attempt was made might have been expected to contribute to its success. The Pretender, James, was not a man to inspire others to fight for his cause, but he was young, honourable, and of British birth, while the new King of Great Britain was elderly and a German, and was preferable to the Pretender only in the fact that the latter was a Roman Catholic while he was not. George was a new-comer, while James represented the line which had ruled England for more than a hundred years and Scotland for centuries. The Scottish dislike of the union might have assisted James to the recovery of the separate throne of Scotland at least. French help was expected, but, as explained above, was not received, although, probably, it would have been sent had the attempt been made a few months earlier. If a rebellion under such favourable circumstances met with such ill-success little was to be expected of any subsequent effort to restore the Stuart line.

Some years later James married a Polish princess. The marriage turned out unhappily, and after a few years the Pretender and his wife lived apart from each other. But before this happened two boys were born—the last hopes of the House of Stuart. The birth of the elder, Charles Edward, revived Jacobite activity in England, and a plot was formed in the Stuart interest by Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. Its

inevitable discovery led to the exile of Atterbury and the forfeiture of his bishopric. Not very many years earlier such treason as his would have been punished with death; the Government was now so strong that it could afford to treat even traitors with contempt rather than severity.

For more than twenty years no further Jacobite effort was made. The country prospered and grew wealthy under the rule of Walpole. Trade expanded, and the nation was contented. George I was followed by George II. The people grew accustomed to the Georges, and when the final revolt took place in 1745 the Stuarts and not the Hanoverians were regarded as strangers.

James (who by this time was styled the Old Pretender, while his son Charles Edward was commonly called the Young Pretender) had for many years lived at Rome. Charles, on whom his father had conferred the title of Prince of Wales, left Rome in 1744, hoping to gain some advantage from the state of war which existed at the time between England and France. But the French had little inclination to assist what appeared to be a hopeless cause, and though a fleet left Dunkirk for the invasion of England it was for French rather than for Stuart purposes. It was scattered by storm, and no invasion took place. Charles thereupon, in 1745, sailed secretly from France with two small vessels and landed at Moidart, on the west coast of Scotland, with seven followers —to conquer two kingdoms! The Highland chiefs of the neighbourhood were amazed at his rashness and advised his immediate return to the Continent. But Charles was everything that his father was not. Handsome and charming, he possessed that magnetic personality which James lacked. He was the ideal leader of an apparently hopeless cause. His bravery and charm attracted thousands to his standard within a very short time. A chance victory over a handful of Government troops soon after his landing led to clan after clan taking up arms and joining him, and within a week or two he was in a position to march south and occupy Perth. From Perth he advanced to Edinburgh, and, though the castle held out against him, he took up his residence at Holyrood. By this time the Government had issued the offer of a reward of £30,000 for his arrest; from Holyrood he, as Prince of Wales and regent for his father, offered a similar reward for the apprehension of the "Elector of Hanover." An English army

THE JACOBITE RISINGS OF 1715 AND 1745

under Sir John Cope landed at Dunbar but was beaten at Prestonpans, and the victory served to rally all Scotland to the Pretender's cause.

After passing some weeks at Holyrood Charles determined to advance into England. Entering the southern kingdom by the western route he passed through Carlisle to Manchester, where a force of two hundred men joined him. But this was the only addition to his ranks in England. If he expected the northern counties to rise on his behalf he was disappointed and undeceived. The glamour of his personality, which had served him so far, failed as completely in England as it had succeeded in Scotland. He reached Derby. He had covered two-thirds of the distance between the two capitals, and for a short time there was panic in London. But his men were dispirited. They were strangers in a hostile land. They had met with no opposition (except a trifling resistance at Carlisle) since crossing the border. But they felt the presence of encircling armies. Wade at Leeds, Cumberland at Shrewsbury, troops withdrawn from the Continent at Finchley, were ready to concentrate on the little band of invaders. A council of war at Derby advised retreat, and Charles, much against his inclination, retreated.

Was he right? By all the recognised rules of strategy the Scots and their leader did the only thing possible. To advance farther towards London was to invite annihilation. Yet Charles's successes so far had been so astonishing, so entirely contrary to what might have been expected, that it is impossible to state with certainty what would have resulted from a continuance of the march. He had already won victories against odds; it is possible that he might have done so again. The panic in London might have spread to the troops. Charles might have entered the capital. If, as is far more probable, he had suffered defeat, this would have been no more fatal to his cause than was the battle which ended his adventure at Culloden. And if he had fallen with his face towards London he would have died in a manner worthy of the last of a royal line.

The little force retraced its steps towards Scotland, and Charles found that in his absence the Government troops had recovered much lost ground. He tried to recapture Stirling, and, though General Hawley, who advanced to its relief, was checked at Falkirk, the Pretender was forced to move northward. The Duke of Cumberland, who had been

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training his troops to withstand the wild charge of the Highlanders, pursued him and, after a halt of some weeks at Aberdeen, overtook the remnant at Culloden, where a battle occurred which ended the last Stuart attempt to obtain the throne. For some weeks the Pretender was a fugitive in the Highlands, but no Highlander was found base enough to betray him for the sake of the reward which was still offered for his arrest. He at length escaped to the continent. Stern measures were taken to reduce the Highlands to order. The authority of the chieftains over their clans was abolished. Clansmen were forbidden to carry arms. Roads were constructed throughout the north of Scotland and what had for centuries been a wild and lawless region became peaceful and civilised.

With the collapse of the revolt the House of Stuart rapidly decayed. James, the Old Pretender, lived at Rome until his death in 1766. Charles thereupon assumed the title of Charles III, and passed a disreputable, drunken existence until 1788. He left no son, and his brother Henry, a cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church, became Henry IX. When he died, in 1807, the direct Stuart line became extinct.

Many reasons can be suggested for the failure of the Stuarts to recover the throne. To some extent their efforts were fruitless because they were ill-planned and ill-directed and did not take place at the right moment, while their leaders were not always men of ability. Yet the brilliant personality of Charles Edward in 1745 more than outweighed these deficiencies. A more serious reason for Jacobite failure is to be found in the dependence of the Stuarts upon France. James II fled to France in 1689, and his son was brought up in France. In 1715, and again in 1745, French help was expected, or, at least, hoped for. This was natural enough in view of the fact that Stuart foreign policy had been based on friendship with France. The later Stuarts, moreover, were related to the French royal line. But in 1689 English foreign policy underwent a decisive change, and in the eighteenth century England and France were rivals for colonial empire and for naval and commercial supremacy, and wars broke out between the two countries from time to time. A cause which necessarily waited for this country to be involved in war with France before its blow could be struck was viewed as an unpatriotic cause, and Englishmen were little likely to approve of a line of kings which was associated with the national enemy.

No small share of the credit for the defeat of the Stuarts is to be attributed to the policy of the Whigs. The country prospered under their rule and there was little ground for discontent. The far-seeing policy of Walpole gave the country the kind of government which was best for it at the time. Harsh and unpopular rule would have produced discontent which might have found its outlet in support for the Pretender.

But the greatest cause of Stuart failure was to be found in Stuart religion. As a result of the activities of James II the nation had determined never again to be governed by a Roman Catholic king. This resolution was registered in the Bill of Rights and again in the Act of Settlement. The Pretender was Roman Catholic. Had he abandoned his faith he might have succeeded Anne. But he would not do so. Henry IV of France is said to have justified his conversion to the Roman faith in the words, "Paris is well worth a mass"; the last of the Stuarts thought the mass preferable to the crown of Great Britain.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF WHIG RULE—TOWNSHEND AND STANHOPE

The Whig ministers who took office at the accession of George I included a number of prominent men, but no one of them was so definitely the superior of his colleagues as to be styled "Prime Minister." Lord Townshend was Secretary of State, with, as his associate in that office, Lord Stanhope, the victor of Minorca. Sir Robert Walpole, the ablest man of the party, was at first content with the subordinate but lucrative post of Paymaster of Chelsea Hospital, but he soon became Paymaster-General and, in 1715, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Marlborough was reappointed Captain-General, but his health was bad and he was no longer of political importance.

The new ministers did not begin too well. One of their first actions was an attempt to take vengeance upon their political opponents. Against Bolingbroke and Ormond, who had fled overseas, Acts of Attainder were passed. Harley, who remained in England, was impeached and committed to the Tower. The substance of the charge against him was his connection with the Jacobite plot at the end of Anne's reign, but the fact of his quarrel with Bolingbroke, the prime mover in the plot, a few days before the queen's death, made it extremely difficult to prove that he was guilty, and the impeachment was dropped. The incident is of some importance in that it was the last occasion on which, upon a change of ministers, the new-comers tried to punish their predecessors. Since that time it has been recognised in political life that to be deprived of office is a sufficient punishment for ministers whose policy has ceased to be acceptable to the nation.

The suppression of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 is recorded in another chapter. The Whigs realised that its failure was due to popular dislike of a Roman Catholic king rather than to their own popularity or to that of the new king. The country was unsettled and, although there was a Whig majority in

the Parliament elected at the beginning of the reign, it was quite possible that at the next general election the Tories might prevail. Under the Triennial Act of 1694 no Parliament could last more than three years, and the Whigs feared the result of an election to be held so soon after the revolt. They took the unusual step of passing through Parliament an act to postpone the election by extending the possible duration of Parliament. This act, the Septennial Act, passed in 1716, fixed the maximum duration of Parliament at seven years.

On its merits there was much to be said for the change. A general election every two or three years was disturbing to the political and social life of the country. With two well-balanced parties in the state no Government could rely on a long continuance in power, and a permanently unsettled state of affairs was not good for the country. It used to be said that the first year of the life of a Parliament was occupied in dealing with election petitions, the second in doing business, and the third in preparing for the election. But, if the change was commendable, the method of making it was open to objection. If a Parliament elected for three years could extend its own duration to seven years there was nothing to prevent a Parliament elected for seven years from lengthening its existence to twenty years, if it so chose. This objection would not have held good if the proposal had applied only to future Parliaments and not to the existing Parliament, but in that case the Whig purpose in passing the act would not have been served. It should be added that the constitutional danger has not proved serious. The good sense of English statesmen has prevented them from acting upon this dangerous precedent. The Parliament elected in December 1910 extended its duration until the end of 1918, but this was because the country was at the time involved in a great war against Germany, and several millions of men on the voting lists were in the fighting forces. The election was postponed because it could not be held. With this exception no Parliament since 1716 has extended its maximum duration. Between 1716 and 1911 no Parliament lasted the full seven years allowed under the Septennial Act, and in 1911 the limit of the duration of Parliament was reduced to five years.

The position of this country in European affairs when the Whigs assumed office in 1714 was far from satisfactory. The Peace of Utrecht, concluded by the Tories in 1713, had left

Great Britain isolated and her former allies indignant. Holland was dissatisfied with the provision for her protection against France, and was no longer friendly with her ally in the war. The Emperor was angry because his rival Philip had been left in possession of the crown of Spain. France under Louis XIV might at any time begin a war of revenge. The Whigs themselves so entirely disliked the peace that there was talk of renewing the war. Wiser counsels prevailed, and for the next generation their policy was based on the maintenance of the Peace of Utrecht.

This change of view dates from the death of Louis XIV. He was succeeded as King of France by his great-grandson, Louis XV, a sickly boy who was not expected to live long. For some years France was ruled by Philip, Duke of Orleans, as regent, and French foreign policy was influenced by a consideration of what was likely to happen at the young king's death. The genealogical table on page 421 indicates that, according to the rules of strict hereditary succession, Philip V of Spain was heir to his nephew. But by the Treaty of Utrecht the crowns of France and Spain were never to be united, and Philip V had solemnly renounced all claim to the French throne. After him the Regent Orleans was heir. The interests of the two Philips were, therefore, in direct opposition to each other; Orleans wished to maintain the treaty and Philip V was determined to disregard it. France and Spain, until recently allied in the Spanish Succession War, were now for many years opposed to each other—until, in fact, Louis XV reached manhood and married, and it became clear that the French succession would go to neither the Orleans line nor that of the Spanish king.

For other reasons also Philip V wished to disregard the Peace of Utrecht, and in his plans he was seconded by his wife, Elizabeth Farnese, a princess of the little Duchy of Parma, in Italy, who had schemes of her own to carry out. Philip was unwilling to regard the partition of Spanish dominions made in the Treaty of Utrecht as permanent. The Emperor held the former Spanish Netherlands, Naples and Sardinia, the Duke of Savoy held Sicily, and Great Britain had obtained Gibraltar and Minorca. Philip wished to recover what had been lost. His leading minister was Cardinal Alberoni, who advised caution in the pursuit of these schemes. Alberoni's policy was to wait a few years in order that the

strength of Spain might be restored, her army reorganised, and her finances improved, but Philip and Elizabeth were impatient to begin a war in which they would be opposed to the combined forces of England, France, Holland and the Empire.

Philip found an ally in Sweden, which, naturally, was not interested in the disposal of Italian principalities, but was concerned with affairs in the Baltic. There had been a time in the seventeenth century when much of the territory in north Germany had been Swedish, and, though most of it had since been lost, two small provinces in the Empire, Bremen and Verden, remained Swedish until they were seized by Hanover. War between Sweden and Hanover seemed certain, and, as the Elector of Hanover was now King of Great Britain, it appeared likely that this country would be involved in it. If this should happen Spain and Sweden would act in concert on the ground of their common antagonism to Great Britain.

In 1717 Stanhope, with the king's approval, concluded the Triple Alliance between Great Britain, France and Holland against Spain, with the object of upholding the settlement made at Utrecht. The treaty brought about the first Whig schism, for Walpole and Townshend disapproved of the nation becoming entangled again in European affairs, and they resigned office. The Emperor was not a member of the alliance at first, since he did not approve of the Treaty of Utrecht. He wished to overthrow it, but for a reason opposite to that of Philip. The King of Spain wanted to recover territories that were in the Emperor's possession; the Emperor wanted to secure the crown of Spain. Charles VI at length overcame his reluctance, and by joining the alliance in 1718 made it Quadruple.

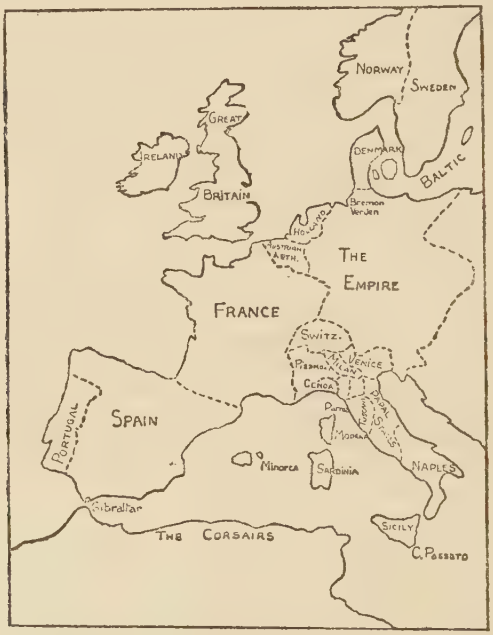
In 1718 a Spanish army conquered Sardinia and invaded Sicily, overrunning most of the island. A British fleet under the command of Admiral Byng defeated the Spanish fleet in a battle off Cape Passaro, and the Spanish army in Sicily was cut off from home. At the same time another British fleet was sent to the Baltic, where its presence prevented the actual outbreak of hostilities between Sweden and Hanover. This display of British naval strength in two regions at the same time was decisive. Alberoni fell from power at Madrid in 1719 and the way was open to peace, which was concluded in 1720. By the Treaty of London Philip consented to join the Quadruple Alliance—which was equivalent to an undertaking to honour the Peace of Utrecht. For the time being,

at least, he was compelled to postpone the execution of his schemes. The Emperor and the Duke of Savoy exchanged Sicily and Sardinia and the Duke assumed the title of King of Sardinia, by which he and his descendants were known until Italian unity was established in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

After the resignation of Walpole and Townshend the Government was carried on until 1720 by Stanhope and the Earl of Sunderland. In 1719 Sunderland brought forward a Peerage Bill which easily passed the House of Lords but met with fierce opposition from the Walpolean Whigs and the Tories in the House of Commons. It proposed that the maximum number of English peers with seats in the House of Lords should be 184. As the Upper House already contained 178 English peers the bill would enable the king to create six new peers, but, after that, to create a new peer only when an existing peerage became extinct. Under the Act of Union with Scotland the Scottish peers elected sixteen of their number to represent them in the House of Lords. This practice was to cease, and in its place the Crown was to appoint twenty-five Scottish peers with the hereditary right of sitting in the House, as in the case of the English peers. Had the bill been carried the House of Lords would have contained 2 archbishops, 24 bishops, 184 peers of England and Great Britain and 25 peers of Scotland—a total of 235, which could not be exceeded.

The bill was bad in every way. It would certainly have given the Whig party a permanent majority in the House of Lords. There was already a small majority of Whig peers. The six new peers would have been Whig, the twenty-five Scottish peers would have been selected because they were Whig, and only Whigs would have been appointed from time to time to bishoprics. Further, the bill would have strengthened the Lords at the expense of the Commons. It has been increasingly recognised since the Revolution that, if a serious difference of opinion should arise between Lords and Commons, the Lords should defer to the Lower House, as the latter is the elected chamber. And if, on a matter of vital importance, the majority in the Lords should obstinately refuse to concur in the decision of the Commons, it has always been possible for the Government to advise the king to create a number of new peers sufficiently large to convert the minority into a majority. It has never

been necessary to do this, but twice—in 1832 and in 1911—such a course was considered and the Lords gave way only to avert the swamping of their House by the creation of new peers. If the Peerage Bill had become law the creation of new peers in a crisis would have been impossible. The Lords would have been encouraged to maintain their opposition to



WESTERN EUROPE AFTER THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

the Commons, and it could have been overcome only by revolution. On at least the two occasions referred to above the right to create peers proved to be the safety-valve of the constitution. Sunderland's proposal was to abolish the safety-valve, and it was, properly, rejected by the Commons.

The existence of the National Debt, now amounting to £51,000,000, was a matter of grave concern to the Whig statesmen, who felt that the country could not be truly prosperous until the money was repaid. The debt consisted of

loans raised at various times, from numerous persons, and at varying rates of interest—at five, six, seven, and even eight per cent. The Government was under no obligation to repay the capital of the debt while it maintained the payment of the interest, but this was a heavy drain on the nation's resources. The South Sea Company, which had been formed in 1711, and to which the trading privileges gained by the Treaty of Utrecht had been assigned, was making substantial profits from the supply of negro slaves to Spanish colonies and from the trade carried on by the one ship which was permitted to pay an annual visit to Porto Bello. It wished to enlarge its sphere of operations and asked the Government for an extension of its privileges. In return it offered to become the Government's sole creditor and to be content with a uniform rate of interest at five per cent, and, after 1727, at four per cent. It proposed that the creditors of the Government should be offered shares in the South Sea Company to the value of their Government stock and that those who refused to accept this offer should be paid off, the company offering the Government £7,500,000 for this purpose. The proposal was, in fact, to effect what present-day financiers would call a "conversion loan." The immediate advantage to the Government was the diminution in the annual interest charge. It was estimated that about a million a year would be saved in this way. The Government creditors were expected to benefit by sharing in the large dividends which the company expected to pay. The company expected to profit by the additional trading privileges granted by the Government. The company's offer was accepted, and no difficulty was experienced in effecting the transfer of the debt, for most stockholders, dazzled by the prospect of large profits, eagerly assented to the proposed exchange.

So far there was nothing inherently unsound about the transaction, although the expectation of increased profits to the company was not likely to be realised. But much excitement was aroused among the people by the prospect of making fortunes, and the shares of the South Sea Company rose in value in the open market until they reached the colossal price of over £1000 for a £100 share. Unscrupulous financiers took advantage of the public excitement to form other companies which were definitely fraudulent. The purposes of many of these bubble companies were absurd,

but people were found to invest money in the shares of companies established to extract gold from sea-water, to import jackasses from Spain, to make quicksilver a malleable metal, and to establish perpetual motion. The formation of such companies, without charters from the Government, was illegal, as the law then stood, and the South Sea Company, which was a chartered company doing actual business, prosecuted some of them. This ended the bubble. The shares of these companies were seen to be worthless and their promoters absconded, leaving their victims ruined. But in the general crash the South Sea Company itself suffered. Within a very short time its shares fell in price from over £1000 to £175. Great public indignation was felt and expressed, and when it was found that some of the ministers were involved in the company's affairs there was talk in Parliament of punishment. Some ministers resigned; one committed suicide. Stanhope, who was personally blameless, fell down in a fit and died.

The real prosperity of the nation was not much affected by the South Sea Bubble. Many people were ruined, but others had prospered. Wealth had not been destroyed; it had been transferred from the pockets of some to those of others. Public confidence had been shaken and took some time to recover; this was probably the worst effect of the incident. The Government reassumed control of and responsibility for the National Debt, and the South Sea Company was limited to its former sphere of activity.

After the conclusion of peace with Spain, Walpole and Townshend resumed office. The first Whig schism was thus healed, and the party became united once more. Before the end of the year 1720 the fall of the Stanhope section, in consequence of its connection with the South Sea Bubble, left Walpole and Townshend at the head of the Government.

CHAPTER IV

WALPOLE

Sir Robert Walpole, the most famous of the statesmen of the Whig period, was born in Norfolk in 1676. Not being his father's eldest son, he was intended for the Church and was well educated, but his brother's death left him heir to the family estates, and he devoted himself to a political career. He entered Parliament as a Whig in 1700, and soon made his influence felt in the party. In 1708 he became Secretary-at-War under Marlborough, and fell from office with his party in 1710. Possibly the Tories recognised him as one of the ablest of their opponents, and one worth crushing, for charges of dishonesty were brought against him. He was expelled from the House of Commons and committed to the Tower. But there was no truth in the charges. He was not brought to trial, and, after some time, he was released.

When the Whig party recovered power at the accession of George I, Walpole was at first appointed Paymaster of Chelsea Hospital. This minor post was soon exchanged for the more important position of Paymaster-General, and in 1715 he became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. But neither he nor his brother-in-law, Townshend, was prepared to assent to the foreign policy of Stanhope. He preferred to keep the country clear of foreign complications and, if Philip V and Charles VI were inclined to reopen the question of the Spanish Succession and the possession of Spanish provinces in Europe, to leave them to fight about it without English intervention. When the Triple Alliance was concluded in 1717 he, with Townshend, left the ministry and was in opposition for three years. When the Treaty of London was concluded in 1720 Walpole re-entered the ministry, of which, upon the fall of Stanhope in consequence of the South Sea Bubble, he became the head.

The official posts held by Walpole for the next twenty-one years were those of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor

of the Exchequer. (The old state office of Lord High Treasurer no longer existed.) But he is commonly regarded as the first Prime Minister. There was no legal recognition of this title and Walpole denied that he was a Prime Minister. But he knew that he was the leader of his colleagues, and he realised that such a position must exist, in view of the disinclination of the early Hanoverian kings to rule the country. Many of the other ministers, however, resented the authority which Walpole tried to exert over them, and resigned office. Lord Carteret in 1724, Pulteney in 1725, Townshend in 1730, and Chesterfield in 1733 left Walpole and went into opposition or retired from political life. The appearance of this second Whig schism has been misrepresented by those who have tried to belittle Walpole. They assert that he was unwilling to have as colleagues men who were of greater ability than himself, and that he hounded such men out of the government. It might be sufficient to reply that if these men were more capable than Walpole it is remarkable that they did not secure his expulsion from office. The fact is that they were so far from being abler men than Walpole that they failed to recognise what he saw clearly, that a ministry must have a head, and that ministers must submit to the supervision of a Prime Minister. Their departure is evidence of Walpole's greatness and of his political capacity, and not of any meanness in his personal character.

It was not until 1730 that he secured complete control, and during the first ten years of his rule the Secretaries of State exercised a good deal of influence over the course of foreign affairs. Their policy was not entirely such as to commend itself to Walpole, and his persistent interference, with the intention of limiting their activity abroad, led to his quarrels, first with Carteret, and afterwards with Townshend. The course of events may be briefly set forth. Philip V was as anxious as ever to recover the lost dominions of Spain, and, in addition, his wife Elizabeth was desirous of securing Italian principalities for her two sons, Don Carlos and Don Philip. Philip's old rival, the Emperor Charles VI, had by this time lost hope of ever obtaining the crown of Spain, and was already concerned with making arrangements for the succession of his daughter Maria Theresa to the Austrian dominions, which, as will be shown in a future chapter, he hoped to bring about by obtaining the assent of the powers of Europe to a document

called the Pragmatic Sanction. In 1725 through the influence of a Dutchman, named Ripperda, a treaty (the first Treaty of Vienna) was arranged between these former enemies, and in it the Emperor agreed to assist Philip in the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca from Great Britain, and to sanction the succession of Don Carlos to his grandfather, the old Duke of Parma. Philip V in return guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.

In France the regent Orleans was now dead, and Louis XV was grown to manhood and was married, but his leading minister, Cardinal Fleury, continued the regent's policy of friendship with Great Britain. The Vienna Treaty was met by a revival of the Triple Alliance of 1717, and in 1726 a Treaty of Hanover was formed between Great Britain, France, Holland, Hanover and Brandenburg to oppose the alliance of Philip and Charles. Some fighting followed in 1727. A Spanish attack on Gibraltar failed, as did an English attack upon Porto Bello. Walpole was exceedingly anxious that the war should not extend, and peace was made in 1729 by the Treaty of Seville. The somewhat unnatural alliance of Philip and Charles came to an end.

In 1731 the Duke of Parma died, and the Emperor did his best to prevent Don Carlos from succeeding to the Duchy. Again a European war appeared to be imminent. But Walpole, now unfettered in his control of British affairs, offered to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction if the Emperor would recognise Don Carlos as Duke of Parma. The bait was tempting, and, by the second Treaty of Vienna, Charles accepted. War was thus averted by Walpole's action.

In 1733 the death of Augustus II, King of Poland, led to the Polish Succession War. France and Spain were by this time on good terms. They supported the claim of Stanislaus to the Polish throne, while the Emperor asserted the right of Augustus III, son of Augustus II. Walpole could not avert war, but he refused to take part in it, and Great Britain remained neutral in a conflict which lasted for some years, and ended in 1738 by the Third Treaty of Vienna, by which Augustus became King of Poland and Don Carlos was given the former Spanish kingdom of Naples.

In 1739 Great Britain became involved, to Walpole's great regret, in a war with Spain. He conducted it sluggishly, and, as the nation was eager to fight, he became unpopular, and this contributed to his fall.

Walpole was a firm believer in the policy of *laissez-faire* at home. He instituted no great reforms. Even when he was pressed to carry out the policy of his party towards the Dissenters and extend full rights to them by repealing the Corporation Act and the Test Act, he preferred to suspend the penalties incurred under those acts for a year, and to continue the suspension for a year at a time. Thus, an Indemnity Act, to suspend these penalties, was passed every year from 1727 till 1828, when the Corporation Act and the Test Act were repealed without difficulty. Walpole felt that an attempt to repeal them in 1727 would have evoked strenuous opposition from the supporters of the Church, while the Indemnity Act was allowed to pass without protest.

Walpole's greatness was seen most clearly in the domain of finance and trade. He realised that the prosperity of the country would be most surely advanced by the development of its commerce, which was hindered by the existence of a tariff on hundreds of articles of import and export. It is probable that he was at heart a Free Trader, but he was the last man to undertake the task of abolishing all duties and establishing a Free Trade system, especially as the nation as a whole would have offered great opposition to such a reform. He probably viewed Free Trade as an unattainable ideal, and considered that some slight advance towards it from time to time was as much as could be expected. He removed the duties, however, from a number of articles, and reduced those levied on many others. He realised that a reduction in the rate of duty might lead to so great an increase in the consumption of the commodity in question that more money might be received from the lower than from the higher rate. In any case the lower rate would lead to increased trade, extended prosperity, and, in the long run, larger revenue.

In 1724 he established the system of bonded warehouses for tea and coffee. This was of considerable advantage to the importers of these commodities. Hitherto the duty on tea and coffee had to be paid when the goods reached this country, although some months might elapse before they were sold and the amount of the duty was recovered from the purchaser. Hence the importers had much of their capital locked up in this way. Under the new system cargoes upon arrival were unloaded into "bond"; they remained there until they were required for retail trade, and they were removed

from bond in small quantities from time to time as needed, the duty being paid only on the amounts so taken out. So successful was the new plan that in 1733 Walpole proposed to extend it to tobacco and wine. Unfortunately, the bill which embodied this suggestion was called the Excise Bill; the "excise," as such, was unpopular, and the bill was misunderstood by the common people and misrepresented by Walpole's opponents. Great public excitement was aroused, and Walpole abandoned a reform which would have been most advantageous to the country rather than risk riot and bloodshed in its enforcement. An almost identical proposal was carried without difficulty by Pitt fifty years later.

When Walpole became Prime Minister the National Debt amounted to about £51,000,000. The Government resumed control of it after the South Sea Company fiasco and Walpole established a sinking fund of one million pounds per annum towards its repayment. If he had continued this throughout his period of office he would have halved the debt, at least. But repayment of debt is dull and unpopular and, in his eagerness to reduce the general level of national expenditure, he raided the sinking fund again and again. Yet he reduced the debt by some four or five million pounds during his twenty years of office. By his economies and his reforms in indirect taxation he was able to lower the rate of the land tax, which was the only important direct tax in the country and which fell upon the country gentlemen, from four shillings to one shilling in the pound. This reduction won for him the applause and support of the members who sat on the benches behind him in the House of Commons.

Walpole had as little belief in the efficacy of an elaborate system of duties and regulations in connection with colonial trade as with trade at home. Under his direction the Navigation Laws were less rigidly enforced than hitherto, and a system which the colonists felt to be burdensome was permitted to continue to exist, but not to continue to be strictly applied. A good deal of "smuggling" in and out of the colonies went on unchecked. To satisfy the planters in the British West Indies he passed, in 1733, the Molasses Act, which forbade the importation by the American colonists of molasses from the French West Indian islands. But it was against his principles to enforce the act, especially as any attempt to do so would have called forth colonial opposition. In 1730

he removed rice from the list of enumerated commodities and permitted it to be sent direct from the colonies to Mediterranean ports, while in 1740 he made a similar concession with regard to sugar.

During the period of Walpole's rule the Whig System became fully developed. Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State after Carteret's retirement from this office in 1724, controlled the complex and corrupt organisation which enabled Walpole to remain in office for so many years. But this was not the only reason for the long continuance of Walpole in power as Prime Minister. He was supported by the Court during nearly the whole of this period. George I had a high opinion of him. He had received his resignation in 1717, when his difference with Stanhope developed, with reluctance, and when he resumed office in 1720 the king resolved not to let him go again. When George II became king in 1727 he dismissed Walpole, but within two days he restored him to his post. Caroline of Anspach, the queen of George II, exercised much influence over her husband and used it always on behalf of Walpole. George himself, as the years passed on, viewed his minister with ever increasing regard, and in the troubled days of the Excise Bill the king was prepared to support him in any attempt he might make to carry the measure into law. The nation, too, trusted Walpole. Few people had votes, but public opinion was not therefore a thing of no account, and while king and nation were agreed in their determination to maintain the minister in office there was little chance for his enemies to pull him down.

In course of time, however, his position grew less strong. The Tories, especially the New Tory group under Bolingbroke, were his determined opponents, and they were reinforced, not only by the malcontent Whigs of whom mention has been made, but also by a group of younger Whigs who were impatient of his domination. These men, who called themselves the "Patriots," but whom Walpole termed the "Boys," included William Pitt, one of the Prime Minister's bitterest critics. This growing opposition in Parliament was strengthened by the hostility of the Scottish members after the Porteous riots in Edinburgh. (Captain Porteous was an officer in command of a guard at the execution of two smugglers. On account of the attempt of the mob to rescue the condemned men he ordered his men to fire, and some persons

were killed. Porteous was tried in Edinburgh and condemned to death for murder, but was reprieved by the queen, who was at the time acting as regent for the king, who was absent in Hanover. The mob thereupon broke into the prison and hanged Porteous. Punishment was inflicted upon the city of Edinburgh, but the incident added to Walpole's difficulties. If he treated the affair as trivial he would endanger his friendship with the queen, his firmest adherent at Court; by inflicting exemplary punishment on the rioters he would lose the support of Scottish members in the Commons.) Queen Caroline died in 1737, and, though the king remained his consistent friend, his influence at Court necessarily declined. Above all, the nation began to turn against him. Minister and people did not see eye to eye on the necessity of a war with Spain. Walpole would have served his reputation better by resigning in 1739. He offered to do so, but George II pressed him to continue, and he consented to retain office. But his majorities in Parliament grew smaller, and early in 1742 he resigned. Some of his opponents, in the first moments of their triumph, talked of impeachment, but the days when a minister who had served the country long and faithfully might be punished were past. He was made Earl of Orford, and died in 1745.

Walpole, the leader of a party of country gentlemen, was himself a country squire and was fond of country pursuits. Game preservation and hunting were as much in his mind as public affairs. To state that he dined well and drank heavily is to attribute to him no more than the ordinary habits of men of his class. But he was no mere boor. His artistic taste was to be relied on, and he was a shrewd judge of pictures, of which he formed a large collection. He is said to have lacked appreciation of literature, but it would be truer to assert that he despised the scribblers and pamphleteers of his own time. He was a good speaker, though not a great orator; he despised flights of eloquence and laughed at ideals in which he did not believe. Corruption was common in the politics of his time, and, though he was personally honest, he did not hesitate to make use of the corruption of others. His enemies, especially Bolingbroke, contended that he was dishonest, and that he amassed riches by corrupt means. The charge was untrue. He was rich, but the sources of his wealth are known. He inherited a fortune, his wife was a lady of means, his official salary for over twenty years amounted to a total of nearly a quarter of a

million sterling, he made money by the judicious purchase and sale of pictures, and he made a fortune at the time of the South Sea Bubble by retaining his common sense while other people lost theirs—he bought when prices were low and sold when they were high.

Walpole's rule conferred lasting benefits on the country. Under him Great Britain extended her commerce and strengthened her resources, so that in the coming contest with France she was able to meet and to beat her neighbour in the struggle for colonial empire. To Walpole is due the first slight changes in the financial and commercial system of the country, that, developed and extended by Pitt, Huskisson, Peel, Russell and Gladstone, were to result more than a century later in the complete establishment of Free Trade. To Walpole is due the credit for giving the land so long a period of peace and prosperity that the Jacobites could make no move, so that when, after his fall, their final effort was made, it came too late. Above all, Walpole was one of the few statesmen who have fully realised the benefits to the nation of a policy of peace. Many kings and ministers have been eager to secure advantages from following a policy of war; those who have acted on the assumption that the gains of war are neither so great nor so sure as its losses have been fewer. They have been disparaged by their contemporaries and their historians; they have been accused of being careless of national interests and national honour; it is time to do justice to their reputations.

CHAPTER V

THE LAST YEARS OF WHIG RULE

The fall of Walpole in 1742 was little more than the retirement of one man from the leadership of the Whig party. The Tories were no nearer office than they had been at any time in the previous thirty years. Many of the ministerial posts continued to be held by the same men as in the time of Walpole, whose withdrawal made possible, however, the return to office of some, though not all, of the Whig malcontents. Lord Carteret was Prime Minister from 1742 till 1744, but the Government soon passed under the control of the Pelhams, and upon Carteret's retirement in 1744 they were at the head of the party and of the ministry for the next ten years. Newcastle (Thomas Pelham) remained Secretary of State and in charge of the System; his younger brother, Henry Pelham, became Prime Minister after Carteret. Carteret pursued a more vigorous foreign policy than Walpole and showed some activity in the Austrian Succession War, but in other respects these men conducted the Government on lines of which Walpole would have approved. In 1746 Pitt was admitted to office as Paymaster-General; all sections of the Whig Party were now represented in the ministry, and the second Whig schism, which had begun as far back as 1724, ended.

Henry Pelham was an able financier, and, after the conclusion of the Austrian Succession War in 1748, he turned his attention to the debt burden. The war had added more than £30,000,000 to the National Debt, which, at the peace, stood at £78,000,000. Pelham did little or nothing to reduce its total, but in 1749 he was able to consolidate the various loans into one bearing interest at no more than three per cent.

An important reform was brought about by the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1751. The Julian calendar, which had been in use hitherto, was ascribed to Julius Cæsar, who, in framing it, had based his calculations on the assumption that a year contained 365¼ days. He had, therefore, ordered that

a normal year should contain 365 days and that every fourth year should contain an additional day. But more exact astronomical observations had shown that a year contains about eleven minutes less than 365¼ days—an error which amounts to very nearly three days in four hundred years. In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII had ordered the revision of the calendar by the dropping of three leap-days in every four hundred years. The new rule was that every year whose number was divisible by four should be a leap year, except the concluding year of a century, which should be a leap year only if its number was divisible by four hundred. The Pope further ordered the dropping of ten days, the period by which the Julian calendar was in error. The Gregorian calendar was adopted in all European countries which remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church, and gradually spread to others. It was not adopted in England, since it was recommended by a pope at a time when the English queen was under sentence of excommunication and anything coming from such a source as the Papacy was certain to be rejected outright. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, anti-Papal prejudice had diminished to the extent of rendering it possible to accept this reform, which had nothing to do with religion. The difference between the two calendars now amounted to eleven days, and this period was dropped in order to bring England into line with other countries. The day after 2nd September, 1752, was 14th September, 1752. Hitherto the English year had begun on 25th March. The Calendar Act ordered that the year 1751 should end on 31st December and that the year 1752 and all subsequent years should begin on 1st January. (This had been the practice in Scotland since 1600.)

After the death of Henry Pelham in 1754 Newcastle became Prime Minister and, in alliance with Henry Fox, carried on the Government for a couple of years. Before the end of this period Pitt was dismissed from his office of Paymaster-General, and the third Whig schism began. Expert in the arts of parliamentary management, Newcastle was utterly incompetent at governing, and the outbreak of the Seven Years War found him alarmed and unprepared. In 1756, after some opening disasters in the war, he resigned, and the other section of the Whigs, under Pitt and the Duke of Devonshire, took office. But Newcastle still controlled the System, and was able to prevent the new ministers from obtaining a parliamentary

majority. Newcastle could not rule himself, but he could prevent other ministers from ruling.

A way out of the difficulty was found by the healing of the third Whig schism. An alliance was arranged between Pitt and Newcastle. The latter resumed the office of Prime Minister, while Pitt became Secretary of State. He devoted his whole attention to the direction of the war, while his colleague was concerned with keeping the Government in office. "Mr. Pitt did everything; the Duke gave everything." Pitt was scornful of the duke's corrupt methods, but the arrangement proved successful. The war resulted in the securing of an unparalleled series of victories in various parts of the world. Ultimate triumph was in sight, when the accession of George III was followed by the fall of the Whigs and the establishment of the Tories in office.

CHAPTER VI

THE WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN

By the Peace of Utrecht Great Britain was given the monopoly of the supply of negro slaves to Spanish colonies for a period of thirty years, and, in addition, the right of sending, every year, one ship of six hundred tons to Porto Bello for general trade. These rights were assigned to the South Sea Company. It is probable that the latter concession was regarded as the thin end of the wedge, and that the company hoped in course of time to enlarge its commercial connection with Porto Bello. The slave trade was very profitable, for ships which sailed from Bristol to West Africa in order to transport negro slaves to the West Indies and South America returned laden with Spanish colonial produce. Many interloping vessels, also, hoped to share in the benefits of Spanish colonial trade. (An interloper was a ship which infringed the monopoly of a chartered company by trading, without authority, within the region assigned to it.) Certainly, many British ships went, with or without authority, to the Spanish Main. It is said that the one ship which was authorised to go to Porto Bello was accompanied by attendant vessels which unloaded their cargoes on to its deck, whence they were transferred to the quay, and that these auxiliaries were laden for the homeward voyage from the main ship. Apart from this, vessels carrying on unauthorised trade swarmed in the Spanish Main in the eighteenth century.

The power of Spain had declined rapidly towards the end of the seventeenth century, but it recovered to a remarkable extent after the Peace of Utrecht, and, under the rule of Philip V, a determined attempt was made to bring this smuggling trade, with which not a little piracy was intermingled, to an end. A preventive service was organised, and ships that were found in the Caribbean Sea were subjected to search for contraband.

British ships strongly objected to the right of search claimed

by the Spanish guard-ships. In the present state of international law a civilised state has authority over all shipping within three miles of its shore, but beyond the three-mile limit ships are on the high seas and are not subject to interference unless there are obvious indications that they are engaged in unlawful operations. But in the eighteenth century it was held that certain ocean routes were under the control of the nations which mainly used them. Ships were expected not to deviate from their proper routes, and any vessel might be called upon to justify its presence upon a particular route—a not unreasonable rule in days when piracy was still very common and when the distinction between the roving trader and the pirate was very thin and not very clear. From this point of view the Spanish action in searching British vessels found within the Caribbean Sea is capable of being defended, and it is probable that some of the captains whose ships were overhauled were on business that would not bear investigation.

The British objection went further, however. Exception was taken not only to the fact of the search but also to the way in which it was carried out. It was alleged that Spanish officers were unnecessarily brutal in the execution of their task. Stories, not always true, were told of outrages committed upon peaceful British mariners, and when Captain Jenkins appeared in England with a tale of brutal attack and mutilation public indignation was very great. It was asserted that Jenkins's vessel was searched, and that, when he protested, a Spanish officer drew his sword and cut off the captain's ear. Jenkins brought his severed ear home in a box of cotton-wool. He was examined before the House of Commons, where he was asked what his thoughts were at the moment of the outrage. "I commended my soul to God and my cause to my country," was the reply, which evoked loud cheers from the Patriot Whigs. Walpole, who did not want war, was contemptuous of the whole affair, but his opponents, who thought they saw in it a means of bringing about the minister's fall, championed the captain's cause, and public opinion compelled Walpole, against his inclination, to go to war.

The war, then, arose out of the right of search claimed by Spain, but there were other points at issue between the two countries. The South Sea Company desired an extension of the period for which the slave trade monopoly had been

granted. The thirty years was drawing to a close, and, so far, no extension had been conceded. Conflicting claims in the Honduras region, matters which might have been settled without bloodshed if a little more reason and forbearance had been shown, were brought forward. The boundary between the Spanish settlement of Florida and the English colony of Georgia was unsettled. As hundreds of square miles of unexplored forest, marsh and wilderness separated the actual settlements the question would not seem to have been acute, but when two peoples are determined to fight a very small pretext seems to be adequate.

The war was not carried on with great vigour on either side. Admiral Vernon in 1739 sailed with only six ships to Porto Bello and captured it, but this opening success was neutralised by his failure, in conjunction with General Wentworth, and with a much larger force, to take Cartagena. Admiral Haddock in 1739 captured two Spanish treasure ships in the Mediterranean. Commodore Anson in 1740 sailed with six ships on a voyage of exploration and attack to the Pacific. He was absent from England for four years, and lost many men from disease, but he captured a Spanish treasure-ship in the Pacific and returned home by way of the Cape of Good Hope, having circumnavigated the world. The treasure, amounting to £500,000, was taken, strongly guarded, by road from Portsmouth to the Tower of London.

The war now merged in the general European War of the Austrian Succession, and peace was made in 1748 by the Treaty of Aachen. In the supplementary treaty of Madrid, in 1750, Great Britain gave up the trading rights obtained at Utrecht, so that the Spanish monopoly of Spanish colonial trade was re-established. The Government of Spain paid the South Sea Company the sum of £100,000 as compensation for the discontinuance of its trade. By this time Jenkins and the right of search, the original cause of the war, had been forgotten. In the treaties the right of search was neither affirmed nor denied; it was not mentioned.

CHAPTER VII

THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN STRUGGLE IN EUROPE

THE Spanish branch of the House of Hapsburg ended with the death of Charles II, King of Spain, in 1700, an event which was followed by the War of the Spanish Succession. Not many years later the Austrian branch of the Hapsburg family was threatened with extinction, since Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor (the Archduke Charles of the Spanish Succession War), having neither son nor brother to succeed him, was the last male representative of his line.

The Austrian dominions in the time of Charles VI were extensive, but they were scattered in three or four great blocks in various parts of Europe. The main portion consisted of Austria itself, with Bohemia, Silesia, the Tyrol and some other provinces within the Empire, and Hungary outside it. The Duchy of Milan was a second part and the Austrian Netherlands (modern Belgium) a third part of the Austrian dominions. People of many races and various languages were ruled by the Emperor, and in view of geographical difficulties and racial distinctions it was impossible to expect that his subjects could ever be welded into a single nation.

Many years before his death the Emperor drew up a document known as the Pragmatic Sanction, in which he directed that his daughter Maria Theresa should succeed to the whole of his possessions at his death. On various occasions, as opportunity offered, he secured the assent and guarantee of most of the states of Europe to the Pragmatic Sanction. Spain guaranteed it by the First Treaty of Vienna in 1725, Great Britain and Holland by the Second Vienna Treaty in 1731, Saxony and Poland in 1733, and France by the Third Treaty of Vienna in 1738. Prussia guaranteed it in 1726. Before the Emperor died he probably felt that he had done all that was humanly possible to secure his daughter's peaceful succession to the dominions under his rule.

The imperial crown was not to be disposed of in this way.

It was still nominally elective, but the electors (of whom there were at this time nine) had not chosen outside the House of Hapsburg since 1440, and it was fairly certain that if the Emperor had left a son he would have been assured of election. Charles hoped that the electors would choose his son-in-law, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany, the husband of Maria Theresa, to succeed him as Emperor, so that the imperial crown as well as the Austrian possessions might continue in the Hapsburg family, though in the female line.

Charles VI died in 1740, and the hollowness of the arrangements he had made became evident almost at once. In spite of the guarantees to the Pragmatic Sanction Maria Theresa, the new Archduchess of Austria, found herself attacked in several quarters, while the electors, when they met, passing over Francis Stephen, chose Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, to be Emperor as Charles VII.

Maria Theresa's chief enemy was Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. The electorate of Brandenburg had been in the hands of the Hohenzollern family since 1415, and from time to time important additions had been made to it both within the Empire (on the Rhine and elsewhere) and outside its borders to the east (the Kingdom of Prussia). The elector had received the title of King of Prussia as a reward for his support of the allies in the Spanish Succession War, and this title had secured European recognition in the Peace of Utrecht. Frederick William, King of Prussia from 1713 to 1740, organised his dominions well and established a large and well-trained army. Under him Prussia became the most powerful state in North Germany, and when he died he left to his son Frederick the Great not only his formidable army but also a well-filled treasury. Frederick proved to be a great general, and the moment of his accession seemed to offer the opportunity to begin a struggle with Austria for supremacy within the Empire, a struggle which was to continue, at intervals, until the final defeat of the Austrians by the Prussians at Sadowa in 1866.

The attack on Maria Theresa in 1740 is often cited as typical of the low standard of honour which existed in the eighteenth century with regard to international undertakings. Several states which had solemnly promised to uphold Maria Theresa's claims took the earliest opportunity of attacking her, and their action cannot be justified. Yet it may be pointed

out that Charles VI, in drawing up the Pragmatic Sanction, did not act fairly towards the Archduchesses Maria Amelia and Maria Josephine, the daughters of his elder brother, the Emperor Joseph I. A glance at the genealogical table on page 422 will show that they had, morally, as sound a claim to the Austrian dominions as Maria Theresa. The action of the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, in fighting for the claims of their wives, may, therefore, to some extent be excused. (The Bavarian elector had never assented to the Pragmatic Sanction.) This, of course, does not apply to Frederick the Great, whose attack on Silesia, mentioned below, was utterly without justification. It may be added that the electors, in choosing Charles Albert of Bavaria to receive the imperial crown, were selecting the son-in-law of the Emperor Joseph instead of the son-in-law of the Emperor Charles.

The attack developed in various parts of the Austrian dominions. France hoped to obtain the Austrian Netherlands and thus bring a little nearer the realisation of the old Bourbon dream of the Rhine boundary. Philip V of Spain, ever desirous of recovering what he had lost at Utrecht, attacked Milan. The Saxons invaded Moravia, while the Elector of Bavaria attacked Bohemia and Frederick the Great overran Silesia. Of the powers that had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction only Great Britain and Holland refrained from attack.

Frederick invaded Silesia in 1740 without declaration of war. Defeating the Austrians at the Battle of Mollwitz, he was soon in possession of the province. Maria Theresa turned to Walpole for assistance; he gave her advice—unpalatable, but necessary. "Give the biggest dog the bone he is after." She yielded with reluctance, and in 1742, by the Treaty of Breslau, ceded Silesia to Frederick.

She was now able to act with vigour against her remaining enemies. An Austrian army invaded Bavaria and captured its capital, Munich, on the very day on which the Bavarian elector was chosen Emperor at Frankfort. In 1743 Great Britain, now ruled by Carteret, took up arms. At the Battle of Dettingen British troops, under the personal command of George II, defeated the French, and in the same year a British fleet appeared before Naples, whose king, Don Carlos, was contemplating entry into the war, and by threat of bombardment forced him to remain neutral. The fall of Walpole in 1742 had been followed by the death of Fleury in 1743, and in

both Great Britain and France the war party was in the ascendant. The formal declaration of war between France and Great Britain occurred after the Battle of Dettingen, where they fought, technically, as allies respectively of Prussia and Austria. In 1744 Frederick, alarmed at the extent of the Austrian successes, renewed the war by invading Bohemia, but he failed to repeat the success he had achieved in Silesia, and was driven out. He complained of lack of support from his allies, overlooking his own action in deserting them in 1742.

The Emperor Charles VII died in 1745 and Francis Stephen was chosen to succeed him, even Frederick, as Elector of Brandenburg, supporting his candidature. The most notable military event of the year was the Battle of Fontenoy, in the Austrian Netherlands, at which the British, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, were defeated by the French. Great Britain took no further part in the fighting, since her armies were withdrawn to meet the menace of the Jacobite rising at home. The war dragged on until 1748.

By the Peace of Aachen (or Aix-la-Chapelle) Prussia retained Silesia, a portion of the Duchy of Milan was yielded to the King of Sardinia, who had rendered some assistance to the Austrian cause during the war, and the Duchy of Parma, ruled until 1738 by Don Carlos, was given to his brother, Don Philip. In other respects the Pragmatic Sanction was confirmed. British and French conquests overseas were to be restored.

Maria Theresa thus secured the bulk of her inheritance after eight years of fighting. She was in no way satisfied with the Peace of Aachen, and resolved to renew the struggle when conditions were more favourable. In her mind the question was not settled, and would not be settled until she had recovered Silesia. During the next eight years she reorganised her dominions and made preparations for the renewal of the war. Austrian finance was put in order and the taxation system was overhauled. Austrian trade was developed. The army was enlarged, its equipment and discipline were improved, and its officers were made to undergo a course of training. Austrian artillery was strengthened, and became renowned as the most formidable in Europe.

The Empress was dissatisfied with the help she had received from her allies in the late war, and she resolved to secure, if possible, further assistance before embarking again upon the

THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN STRUGGLE IN EUROPE

struggle with Prussia. In the Austrian Succession War Great Britain had diverted the weight of French attack to the Netherlands and had secured the neutrality of Don Carlos, but Maria Theresa wanted a more consistent and reliable ally, and her Chancellor, Kaunitz, suggested that an alliance should be sought with France. France and Austria had been on terms of hostility for three hundred years. (It will be remembered that in Tudor times France and the Emperor Charles V were opposed to each other; the first Bourbon, Henry IV, was an enemy of the Emperor; France opposed the Emperor in the Thirty Years War; the rival candidates for the Spanish throne had been a French and an Austrian prince.) The proposal, therefore, did not lack boldness. For some time little progress was made with it, but Kaunitz persevered. Some coolness sprang up between Prussia and France, and the influence of Madame de Pompadour, the favourite of Louis XV, was exerted against Prussia on account of certain remarks of Frederick which she regarded as insulting to her. In 1756 an alliance was concluded between France and Austria. Some years later the grandson of Louis XV (the future Louis XVI) married an Austrian princess, Marie Antoinette. The alliance lasted until the time of the French Revolution, in the course of which Marie Antoinette perished by the guillotine. As the antagonism of France and Great Britain continued, a new alliance was formed between Great Britain and Prussia.

In the course of European history new alliances are formed from time to time and new groupings of the powers come into existence. Such changes are termed diplomatic revolutions. In 1689, at the fall of James II and the accession of William III, the Anglo-French friendship which had lasted for a century came to an end and a century and a quarter of Anglo-French hostility began. This was a diplomatic revolution. The First Treaty of Vienna, in 1725, in bringing together those old enemies, Philip V and Charles VI, registered another diplomatic revolution. But the changes of 1755–6, by which France and Austria allied after three centuries of hostility, were of so remarkable a character that the event is known as *the* Diplomatic Revolution.

The Seven Years War (1756–63) followed. Russia entered the struggle in alliance with Austria and France, so that for the first four or five years Frederick had to defend his dominions from attack on three fronts. The war opened with disaster

for the British—disaster in the Mediterranean, where Minorca was lost, and disaster in Germany, where the Duke of Cumberland was defeated at Hastenbeck and the French overran Hanover. At this juncture Pitt became Secretary of State and by his genius changed defeat into victory. He made the naval and financial strength of this country the key-note of his policy. British fleets were strengthened, and within a year or two were victorious everywhere. Large subsidies were sent to Frederick, so that to his other difficulties might not be added shortness of money. British and Hanoverian troops fought under Frederick, and British and Hanoverian armies kept the French occupied on the Rhine. And while the French were fully engaged in Europe the struggle against them was carried on energetically and successfully in India and North America.

In this time of trouble Frederick proved equal to his task. He possessed the advantage of interior lines of communication (an advantage which was used to the utmost extent by the Germans in the European War of 1914–18). He could, and did, move his troops from one front to another as required. He won great victories and suffered some defeats, but on the whole he kept his enemies at bay. The death of the Russian Empress Elizabeth in 1762 was followed by the withdrawal of Russia from the fight, and for the remainder of the war Frederick easily held his own.

Before the struggle had concluded Pitt had fallen from power, and his successor, Bute, was anxious to make peace, with little regard for Frederick. The alliance ceased, and Frederick was left to make his own peace, which he did by the Treaty of Hubertsburg in 1763. His dominions were left intact and he retained the province of Silesia, which Maria Theresa never recovered. Peace was made between Great Britain, France and Spain (which became involved in the war shortly before its conclusion) by the Treaty of Paris. It was concerned chiefly with colonial affairs, and will be described in a later chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE AT SEA

DURING the earlier part of the great European struggle described in the last chapter naval activity was, as already indicated, directed chiefly against Spain, but without any great vigour. It was not until the direction of the Seven Years War was undertaken by Pitt that the maintenance of naval supremacy became one of the main features of British war policy.

At sea the Seven Years War began badly. Owing to the mismanagement of Newcastle fleets were inadequate, ill-equipped, and badly distributed. In 1756 a French squadron attacked Minorca, which since 1708 had been an important British naval base in the Mediterranean. Admiral Byng was sent to its relief. He came to the conclusion that the French fleet was superior to his own and retired to Gibraltar without fighting a battle, with the result that Minorca was lost.

Public indignation was expressed in a demand that the admiral should be held responsible for the disaster. An accusation of cowardice was made—a charge that, to the officers who knew Byng, was absurd. It was dropped, but the admiral was placed under arrest and was brought to England to be tried by court-martial for failing to fight in defence of Minorca. His defence was that, knowing the enemy to be in superior force, he regarded the defeat and destruction of his squadron as certain, and he thought it probable that the French would follow up their victory over him by an attack upon Gibraltar. He fell back, therefore, in order that the loss of Minorca might not be followed by that of Gibraltar, where he expected reinforcements from England to join him. In substance, he contended that he had made sure of the safety of the one place by sacrificing the other, instead of risking the loss of both. The court-martial ordered him to be shot on the quarter-deck of his flagship, and the sentence was carried out.

The real blame for the loss of Minorca should have rested

on those ministers at home who had failed to provide adequately for its defence. Yet Byng cannot be held altogether free from blame. The French had twelve ships of the line at Minorca, while he had thirteen, although his vessels were inferior in size and gun-power. It could not be asserted that his defeat was certain; in British naval annals victory has not invariably been obtained by the stronger side. This country would not have achieved its present greatness if British admirals had always pursued a policy of caution. Byng's judgment was at fault; he should have engaged the French fleet. The appropriate sequel to his error would have been his removal from his command and the appointment of a more energetic officer to replace him. But the Government allowed the death sentence to be carried out as a concession to popular indignation, which was thus diverted from the real author of the misfortune, the Duke of Newcastle.

THE FRANCO-BRITISH NAVAL STRUGGLE IN EUROPEAN WATERS, 1756–61

The disposition of British fleets was improved after Pitt assumed office. In 1759 the French assembled a large flotilla of transports at Havre in preparation for the invasion of England. As was the case on other occasions, the real problem before the French Government was the convoying of the flotilla across the Channel. One French fleet was at Toulon; another was at Brest. If they could effect a junction they might overcome the resistance of the British Channel fleet and make invasion a possibility. But both French fleets were watched. Boscawen, at Gibraltar, confined the Toulon fleet to the Mediterranean, and Hawke, at Plymouth, awaited the emergence of the Brest fleet from its shelter. The Toulon fleet

made the effort to pass Gibraltar, and sailed through the strait in a mist. A slight lifting of the veil revealed the topmasts of the last ship, and Boscawen set off in close pursuit. He overtook the enemy off Lagos, and in the battle which followed, which took place so close inshore that it was within the Portuguese three-mile limit, the French fleet was destroyed. When the Brest fleet came out it was attacked by Hawke and defeated at Quiberon Bay. The effect of the two battles was decisive. French naval strength received a blow from which it took many years to recover. French commerce was swept from the seas. For four months it was impossible for the French Government even to send dispatches to Montcalm, the Governor of Canada. The series of triumphs was completed by the destruction of the transports at Havre by Rodney in 1760, by the capture of several French islands in the West Indies in 1760, and by the capture of Belle Isle, off the Breton coast, in 1761.

Don Carlos, who had been King of Naples since 1738, succeeded his half-brother as King of Spain in 1759, and in 1761 he entered into a secret "Family Compact" with France. It was arranged that if peace had not been concluded between Great Britain and France by 1st May, 1762, Spain should on that day enter the war. In return, France was to yield Minorca to Spain. The appointed date was a year ahead; the intervening period was to be used by Spain in preparation for war, and the compact was to be kept secret lest Great Britain should nullify its effect by making war upon Spain before she was ready. Pitt, however, obtained news of it, and pressed for a declaration of war against Spain. The new king, George III, professed to be doubtful of the existence of the compact, and declined Pitt's suggestion. The minister thereupon resigned, and was succeeded by the Tory Bute, who speedily discovered that Pitt was right, and declared war on 31st December, 1761.

Hostilities against Spain were entirely naval. Havana, the capital of Cuba, was taken by one fleet, and Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands, by another. The intervention of Spain was thus without effect upon the issue of the war, and in 1763 the Peace of Paris was concluded.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE IN INDIA

During the sixteenth century European trade with India was shared by Venetians and Portuguese, the former making use of the old route to the East by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, the latter following the Cape route. That the newer route was monopolised by the Portuguese for a century after its discovery may seem strange. No other nation, however, attempted to make use of it. The Spaniards were fully occupied in the development of their American possessions, and the mariners of other nations did not possess the necessary knowledge of the details of navigation in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans for them to make the venture. The Portuguese established several depots, of which the most important was Goa, on the west coast of India. When, in 1580, Portugal was conquered by Spain, these places became Spanish, and before the end of the century the enemies of Spain were preparing to attack her power in the East as well as in the West.

Dutch and English East India Companies were established about the end of the sixteenth century, the latter receiving its charter from Queen Elizabeth on 31st December, 1600. Bitter rivalry developed between the merchants of these two nations, and three Anglo-Dutch wars were fought during the seventeenth century. Most of the Dutch settlements were in the islands of the Malay Archipelago, where the English did not succeed in obtaining a permanent footing. The English Company established "factories" on the mainland of India—at Surat in 1612, at Madras in 1639, at Bombay in 1668, and at Fort William (Calcutta) in 1696. These depots were well organised. The buildings were arranged round the four sides of a quadrangle. On the ground floor were offices and storehouses, above which were living-rooms for the Company's officials. These were of several grades. The most important were the merchants—responsible men who

transacted the Company's business. Below the merchants were the writers, or clerks, and inferior to them were the junior members of the staff, known as apprentices. A council of the more important merchants, under the guidance of a president, was in supreme control of the factory. These establishments were maintained only for the purpose of trade. They existed only by permission of the rulers of India, and they took no part in the political life of the country. A large fleet of fine ships carried Indian products to England.

The French East India Company was founded in 1664, and in course of time established similar factories at Pondicherri, Mahé and Chandernagar. The French and English Companies were for a long time on friendly terms. After 1689 England and France were frequently at war, but it came to be regarded as an understanding that enmity in Europe should not be carried on in Indian waters—that no hostilities should be maintained east of the Cape of Good Hope, a state of affairs which continued until after 1740.

From 1556 to 1707 India was under the rule of the four great Mogul emperors, Akbar, a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, Jehangir, contemporary with James I, Shah Jehan, and Aurangzeb. On the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Mogul Empire rapidly broke up, and the princes who had hitherto been viceroys of the Great Mogul became independent rulers of their states. India became the battleground of warlike adventurers, and the death of an Indian prince was usually followed by a contest for possession of his throne. Intrigue and assassination added to the prevailing disorder. Any adventurer, European or Asiatic, might plunge into the turmoil of Indian politics, with the probability, indeed, of meeting with death, but with the possibility of obtaining a throne.

In 1741 Dupleix became Governor of Pondicherri. He recognised that the condition of affairs in India might be turned to the political advantage of France. In many native states rival claimants for the throne appeared from time to time. If, in such a quarrel, he should intervene on behalf of one of the candidates, his protégé would be successful, and would realise that he owed his throne to French assistance. He would regard the French as his allies, and French influence would be predominant throughout the state. Carried into practice consistently, this plan would result, in time, in the spreading of French power all over India and the elimination

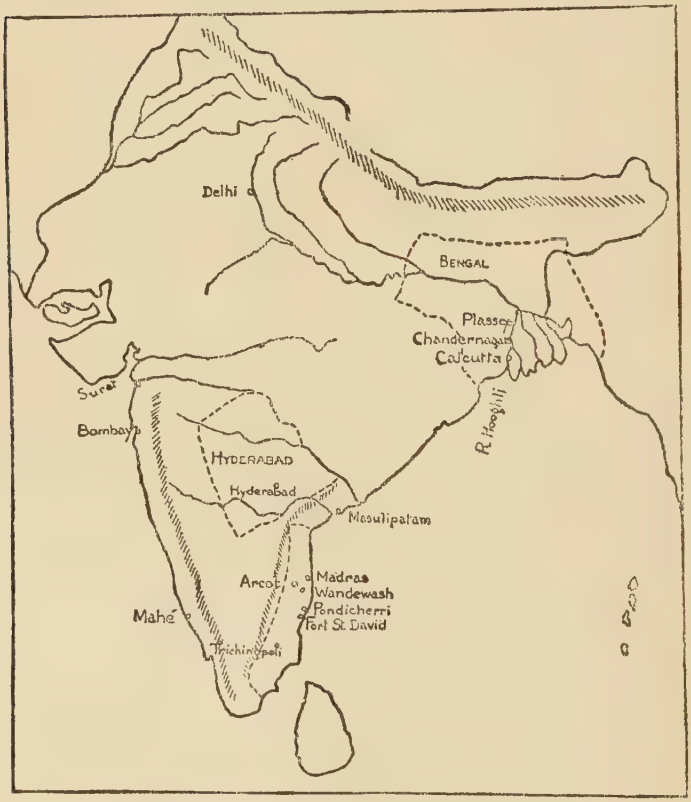
of British influence. But it could not be carried out effectively without forces, and Dupleix was not supported by the French Government, occupied as it was with European wars. He therefore enlisted natives in the French service. Trained and drilled by French officers and non-commissioned officers, they became the first sepoys in European employ.

In 1745 the appearance of a British fleet off Pondicherri caused some alarm to the French, but it withdrew without fighting. In the following year a French fleet attacked Madras and captured it. The French admiral, La Bourdonnais, was willing to treat with the English Company's representatives for the ransom of the factory, but Dupleix, apparently jealous of La Bourdonnais's success, would not agree to this course, and Madras remained for the moment in French hands. La Bourdonnais sailed home, and, by the Peace of Aachen in 1748, Madras was returned to the English without ransom.

In 1749 there was a dispute with regard to the throne of an important central Indian state, Hyderabad. Dupleix intervened, and established one of the claimants as Nizam. A French sepoy garrison remained in the city of Hyderabad under the Marquis de Bussy. The new Nizam was an ally of the French, and French influence prevailed throughout the Deccan. In the same year the Nabob of the Carnatic died, and the vacant throne was claimed by Chunda Sahib and Mohammed Ali. Dupleix sided with the former, and by 1751 his opponent was driven into Trichinopoli, in the extreme south of the Carnatic. Complete success seemed to be within reach of Chunda Sahib, when Mohammed Ali received unexpected help.

Robert Clive had reached India in 1744 as a writer in the Company's service. With little taste for a commercial career, he had exchanged into the Company's military service (the Company maintained a small force, British and sepoy, for the purpose of guarding its factories). In 1751, at the head of a detachment of British and sepoys, he attacked Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, while the forces of the state were engaged in the siege of Trichinopoli. He captured Arcot, and Chunda Sahib and his French auxiliaries, abandoning the siege, hastened north to recover their capital. Clive withstood a siege of seven weeks' duration, and Arcot remained in his hands. Chunda Sahib died not long afterwards, and

Mohammed Ali became Nabob of the Carnatic. British prestige rose as rapidly as that of the French fell. Dupleix returned, discredited, to France in 1754; in the previous year Clive had returned to England as a conqueror and a hero.



THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE IN INDIA, 1744–61

French influence was still considerable in Bengal, the young nabob of which, Siraj-ud-Daula, was a typical oriental tyrant. In 1756 one of his relatives, whom he desired to put to death, took refuge with the English at Calcutta. He demanded the surrender of the fugitive, and upon this being refused he took

possession of the settlement. A number of English prisoners were confined, throughout the night following their capture, in a small guard-room, where, owing to excessive overcrowding and inadequate ventilation, 123 out of 146 died. This incident of the Black Hole of Calcutta caused very great indignation amongst the English in India, and Clive, who had just returned from his visit to England, was ordered to proceed to Bengal. For the time being, however, the matter was settled upon the nabob paying compensation and expressing regret.

In the following year a plot was formed for the deposition of the nabob and the establishment of one of his nobles, Mir Jaffir, in his place. Clive prepared to support the usurper, but a native, Omichund, who became aware of the plot, threatened to reveal it to Siraj-ud-Daula unless he were guaranteed payment of a large sum of money. There appeared to be no alternative to submission to this attempt at blackmail, and Clive signed the necessary promise. Omichund demanded, as additional security, the signature of Admiral Watson, who commanded the flotilla of English vessels on the Hooghly. The admiral refused to sign, and, to avert the threatened disclosure of the plot, Clive forged Watson's signature. Omichund never received the money, for, when Siraj-ud-Daula was overthrown, the bargain was repudiated, and the blackmailer committed suicide. At that time men were prepared to countenance many actions in the East that to-day would be accounted blameworthy, but not even that reflection can excuse Clive's action in forging his brother-officer's signature, or cause it to be regarded as other than dishonourable.

The rebellion broke out, and at the Battle of Plassey Clive completely defeated the nabob and his vastly superior army. Siraj-ud-Daula fled, but was captured a few days later and put to death. Mir Jaffir became Nabob of Bengal, where, henceforth, British influence was predominant. Before this, Chandernagar had fallen into English hands.

In 1758 Count Lally, a French noble of Irish ancestry, arrived in India as Governor of Pondicherri, and made an effort to restore French authority in the Carnatic. His attack upon Madras failed, and in 1759 he was compelled to withdraw De Bussy and his garrison from Hyderabad. Thereupon the Nizam, recognising the decline of French and the advance of British prestige, made a treaty of friendship with the rising power. In 1760, at the Battle of Wandewash, Lally was

defeated by Colonel Coote, whose victory was followed by the fall of Pondicherri.

Thus before the end of the Seven Years War, and mainly by the genius of Clive, French influence in India was destroyed and British authority was established in its place. It was, of course, far from being completely recognised in all parts of the country, but when the state of affairs in 1760, at the time of Clive's second return to England (where he was acclaimed by Pitt as a "heaven-born general"), is contrasted with that in 1741, when Dupleix arrived at Pondicherri, it will be seen that British political influence had been firmly established in at least three regions—in the Carnatic, in the Deccan, and in Bengal, and that British prestige stood high throughout the land. British power in India was no longer challenged by any European rival, and the way was open for its extension from province to province until it should be acknowledged everywhere south of the Himalayas.

CHAPTER X

THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE IN NORTH AMERICA

THE English colonies in North America extended along the east coast in an unbroken line from Massachusetts to Georgia. They were thirteen in number, and had been founded or captured at various times between 1607 and 1732. The northern group consisted mainly of Puritan settlements, to the south of which were two or three colonies conquered from the Dutch in the seventeenth century. Farther south were Virginia and the Carolinas, devoted to the production of tobacco, which was cultivated by the labour of transported convicts and negro slaves. Georgia had been founded as late as 1732 in pursuance of a scheme for enabling persons imprisoned for debt in England to make a new start in life. To the north-east of the chain of colonies, and separate from them, lay the province of Nova Scotia, ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht. Its capital, Halifax, was founded in 1749.

In the interior of North America a number of French posts had been established. Settlement in the interior of a great continent was impossible unless adequate means of transport existed, and before the construction of railways the only satisfactory means of communication with the coast was by great waterways. The French settlements were to be found on, or in the vicinity of, the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. It will be noticed by an inspection of the map that the lower St. Lawrence, the Alleghany River, the Ohio and the lower Mississippi all lie in a north-east and south-west direction, and that these waterways are, in fact, almost in a straight line parallel to the coast. It was on or near this line that the French settlements were placed, at irregular intervals. They extended from Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, to New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, and included such places as Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Fort Niagara and Fort Frontenac.

By maintaining their line intact the French would prevent the expansion of the British towards the interior, and by forcing their way through British territory and reaching the

THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE IN NORTH AMERICA, 1742–60

Atlantic they would cut the British settlements into two groups; they would encroach upon them and ultimately conquer them. The British, on the other hand, hoped to capture important French forts and sever the enemy's line. There was no definite boundary between the two lines of settlements. Border fighting, in which Indian tribes took part, was carried on almost

continuously, and was by no means limited to the periods during which Great Britain and France were at war.

In some respects the French had the advantage in this struggle. Their strategic position was superior, as, if they could hold on, British expansion would be impossible. The Indians, a factor of some importance in North American warfare, were on the side of the French, except the Iroquois, who were allied with the British. But the British colonists were superior in numbers and, at the crisis of the struggle, received more effective support from the home Government than did their rivals. The decisive factor was the command of the sea, which permitted supplies and reinforcements to be sent to the British and prevented them from reaching the French.

In 1742 the British colonists captured Louisburg at one end of the French line, but by the Treaty of Aachen it was returned to the French. In 1752 the French established Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Ohio and Alleghany Rivers, in preparation, it would seem, for a movement south-eastwards through Virginia to the sea. Two years later a body of Virginians, under George Washington, attacked Fort Duquesne, but they were defeated and their leader was captured. A British attack under General Braddock in the following year met with no success, the general being slain. Braddock was a brave soldier. Trained, however, in the principles of European warfare, he was unable to adapt himself to the conditions of colonial fighting. In 1756 the French captured Fort Oswego and in 1757 Fort William Henry.

After Pitt took office in 1757 troops and equipment and supplies were sent to North America, and much greater success was achieved in 1758. Louisburg was captured, the lost forts of Oswego and William Henry were recovered, Fort Frontenac was taken, and, before the end of the year, Fort Duquesne was in British possession. The destruction of French fleets at Lagos and Quiberon Bay by Boscawen and Hawke in 1759 left Montcalm, the French Governor of Canada, without means of communication with France. He gathered all available forces for the defence of Quebec, upon which Pitt planned a threefold attack. Amherst from farther up the St. Lawrence, Prideaux from New England, and Wolfe from the sea were to concentrate at Quebec and storm the city. Wolfe arrived first, however, and, after waiting some time

for the others, decided to attack alone. His forces climbed a cliff thought to be unscalable and reached the Plains of Abraham above, where a battle was fought which the British won, but in which both Wolfe and Montcalm were slain. Quebec surrendered, and, with the capture of Montreal by Amherst in the following year, the overthrow of French power in North America was complete.

CHAPTER XI

THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763

THE New Tory ministers who in 1761 succeeded Pitt in office were eager to make peace as soon as possible. They felt that the objects of the war had been attained, and that its prolongation would involve this country only in unnecessary expense and anxiety, and Bute, with the approval of George III, hastened on the negotiations for peace. The alliance between Prussia and Great Britain ended in 1762, and, as has already been stated, Frederick made his separate peace with Austria by the Treaty of Hubertsburg. The struggle of Great Britain against France and Spain was ended by the Treaty of Paris.

Various territorial arrangements were entered into by Great Britain and France. In India all French possessions were ceded to Great Britain, with the exception of Pondicherri, Mahé and Chandernagar. These places, which were actually in British possession at the end of the war, were to be returned to the French, but they were not to be fortified or garrisoned, and were to be used as trading depots only. In North America all French possessions east of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans, were yielded to Great Britain. This included all the Canadian settlements and the line of forts behind the British colonies. But the right of French fishermen to continue the exercise of their industry in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was recognised; France was permitted to retain two small islands in the estuary, St. Pierre and Miquelon, as depots for the fishermen, who were also to be allowed to land on a certain part of the coast of Newfoundland to dry their nets. In West Africa, where some fighting had occurred, the British retained Senegal, although they gave back Goree to the French. In the West Indies, where a number of islands had been conquered from the French, Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent and Grenada were retained by the victors, but Guadeloupe, Martinique and St. Lucia were returned to the

French. Great Britain recovered Minorca in exchange for Belle Isle, and the French agreed to dismantle the fortifications of Dunkirk, which had been used as a naval base during the war.

Great Britain undertook to restore her conquest of Havana to Spain, receiving in return the peninsula of Florida, so that the eastern half of the mainland of North America became entirely British. Manila was returned to Spain without any equivalent being asked for or given, since news of its capture reached Europe only after the negotiations for peace were in progress.

France had undertaken, by the Family Compact, to give Minorca to Spain, but, by the Treaty of Paris, she was compelled to yield it to Great Britain. As she was unable to fulfil her promise, she gave to Spain such claim as she had to territory in North America west of the Mississippi, together with New Orleans—a vast expanse of plain and mountain, most of which was entirely uninhabited except for the native Indians.

In some respects the circumstances of the Seven Years War bore a remarkable resemblance to those of the War of the Spanish Succession. Each of them was pressed to within sight of a victorious conclusion while the Whig party was in power, while a change of Government occurred just before the peace. In each case it may be asserted with some confidence that the treaty of peace would have been different if it had been settled by the ministry which had conducted the war. In each case, too, the Tories were anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace and were accused of neglecting important British interests.

The Treaty of Paris was not regarded as entirely satisfactory at the time, and in respect of many of its provisions it has been criticised since. The Whigs denounced the abandonment of the alliance with Frederick the Great. The vigorous support afforded by Pitt to the King of Prussia had enabled him to keep the French fully occupied in Europe, and this had contributed to British victories elsewhere. The withdrawal of that support by Bute had nearly ruined Frederick's cause, and was condemned by the Whigs as the base desertion of a faithful ally. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that when the British subsidy was withdrawn the worst of Frederick's troubles was past and his victory was in sight. The subsidy had been

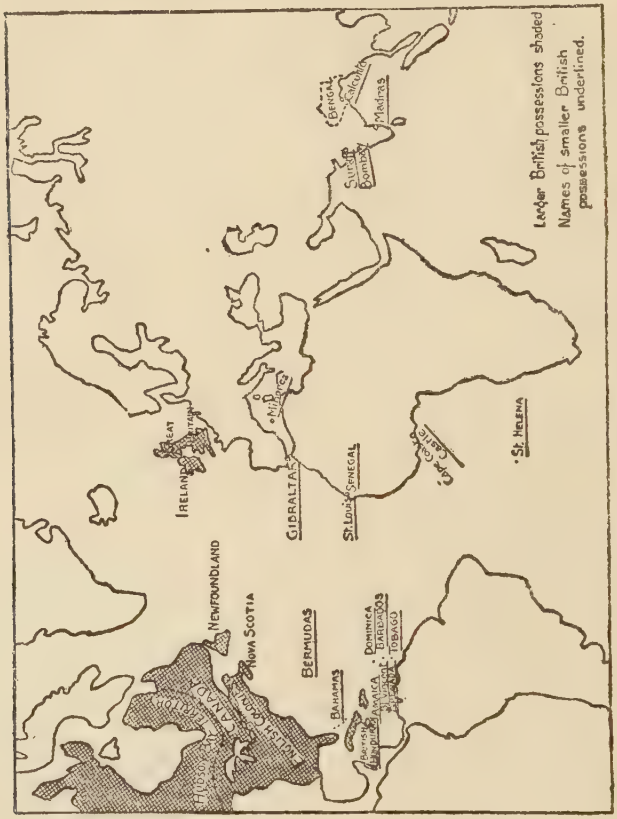
granted only year by year, and its cessation when it was no longer necessary was justified, in view of the alarming increase in the National Debt.

The return of Pondicherri, Mahé and Chandernagar to the French by the Peace of Paris could not be justified by the commercial principles then generally held. Had these places been retained and given to the East India Company this body would have completely monopolised trade between Europe and the East, and the whole supply of Indian products to the nations of Europe would have been through this channel. There seemed to be no adequate reason for the return of Goree in West Africa, by which the French were enabled to continue to share in the slave trade, nor of three important islands in the West Indies. The capture of these French West Indian islands presented a unique opportunity of monopolising the supply of sugar to Europe, of which British ministers failed to take advantage.

The North American arrangements were open to adverse comment on other grounds. The continuance of the French cod-fisheries in the St. Lawrence and on the Newfoundland banks led to endless dissensions, which have been settled only within living memory. It may seem difficult, to-day, to criticise the retention of the Canadian settlements, but nobody then could have foreseen that Canada would grow into a vast and important dominion stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. At that time it consisted of a few isolated posts on the banks of the St. Lawrence, far less important, apparently, than the West Indian islands which were given back to France. The expulsion of the French from North America removed a menace to the English colonists and made possible their revolt a few years later. The return of Canada to the French and the retention of the sugar islands by Great Britain would have met with more general approval. Nor could the swampy, unexplored peninsula of Florida be regarded as an adequate equivalent for the important island of Cuba, whose capital, Havana, had been captured by the British, while nothing at all was received in return for the loss of life incurred and the money expended in the capture of Manila.

Yet, despite its blemishes, the Peace was a triumph for Great Britain. Her conquests in every quarter had been so vast that even the blundering of British ministers could not make other than a brilliant treaty. In the struggle for

colonial empire Great Britain had beaten France, and stood forth henceforth as the foremost colonising power in the world. Her navy was supreme, while that of her rival was



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1763

non-existent. Her commerce with India, North America and the West Indies expanded without fear of French competition. Yet the peace which registered the triumph of Great Britain contained the seeds of future trouble. France had to wait only fifteen years for her war of revenge.

CHAPTER XII

THE METHODIST MOVEMENT

It has been pointed out in an earlier chapter that the religious controversies which existed in the Tudor and Stuart periods were absent from the eighteenth century. This was not because Churchman and Papist and Puritan had composed their differences, but because many men had ceased to hold any form of religious belief. The Toleration Act had been intended to permit Churchmen and Dissenters to live together peaceably in the land; it made the existence of the agnostic possible. Not merely outside the Church, but also within it, there were men who had ceased to believe in Christianity. Bishops were courtiers and politicians, whose only interest in their dioceses lay in the receipt from them of substantial incomes. Clergy of good family and social influence held livings in "plurality." The pluralist rector received stipends from several parishes at once; he employed badly paid curates to conduct services and perform the duties which he neglected. Many of the parish clergy, however, were, in learning, social position and purity of life, little better than the peasantry among whom their lives were passed. In France a similar state of affairs existed, and it is on record that, later in the century, Louis XVI refused to sanction the appointment of the Archbishop of Toulouse to the archbishopric of Paris on the ground that an Archbishop of Paris ought to believe in God. In both countries the Church was a convenient organisation for keeping the poor in their proper places and teaching them their duty towards their betters; it did not follow that sensible men need believe in Christianity.

The Church of England having to so serious an extent lost its influence for good, it is not surprising that the moral condition of the people was bad. Drunkenness had become exceedingly common, especially in large towns, since the introduction of gin. Vice was prevalent, and hundreds of people in London and elsewhere gained a precarious living by theft. Roads were infested by highwaymen and footpads.

There was little attempt to deal with crime. The towns were inadequately policed by the watchmen (known as "Charlies"), and the only detectives were the Bow Street Runners. Criminals when caught were punished severely, with death or transportation, but the chance of capture was not very great, and was a risk which any adventurous man might feel inclined to take. Cruelty was exceedingly common. The public indignation which is roused so readily at the present day by any form of cruelty stands in strong contrast to the indifference and brutality of the eighteenth century, when cruel forms of sport were common, and the whipping of human beings, men, women and children, was an everyday affair.

Yet there were still in England men and women who lived sober and honest lives, and to whom religion was real. There were still clergy who set forth in their lives and by their preaching the religion they professed. The Church still contained scholars renowned for their learning. Such people kept the Christian religion alive in the land, though they were unable to effect the reform that was needed by the Church and the revival of religion that was needed by the nation.

Such a revival was brought about by the Wesleys. John and Charles Wesley were sons of Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire. As students at Oxford they, with others of like mind, formed a society which met weekly for prayer, Bible reading and discussion, and other religious exercises. The members of this little group showed in their manner of life a marked contrast to the carelessness, indifference and wickedness which prevailed at the university. By others they were derided and nicknamed "Methodists," in mocking reference to their way of living; they accepted the name, and millions of their followers accept it to-day. The Wesleys were ordained in the Church of England, and John Wesley served for a time as curate to his father. In 1735 he visited Georgia, which had recently been founded. His work there was not successful, and in 1738 he returned to England. But on his voyages he came into contact with members of a German sect, the Moravians, and was much impressed by their religious fervour and their missionary zeal. He kept in touch with them on his return to England, for they had a meeting-house in London, and in 1739 he experienced through Moravian influence what he termed conversion, a change of heart and a genuine conviction of forgiveness of sin.

Wesley spent the rest of his life in preaching the gospel to the people of the British Isles. He travelled many thousands of miles and visited every town and almost every village in the country. At first, as a Churchman, he preferred to preach in churches, but when, as soon happened, the clergy refused to allow him the use of their buildings, he adopted the practice of "field-preaching," or speaking in the open air, which resulted in his reaching very large numbers who would never have entered a church. He possessed a remarkable voice, which was audible at an unusual distance, so that, frequently, he was faced by an audience of many thousands of people, all listening attentively to his words. His preaching was extraordinarily effective, and in the case of no other man of his or any other time was the old phrase truer that "those who came to scoff remained to pray." Charles Wesley was associated with his brother's work, but he was less remarkable as a preacher than as a writer of hymns, of which many hundreds exist to attest to his talent in this direction. George Whitfield (or Whitefield), another of the original Oxford band, was, if possible, more remarkable as a preacher than John Wesley himself.

John Wesley was a great organiser, and formed societies of his adherents, upon the Oxford model, in all parts of the country. But he did not attempt to establish a new dissenting body. He regarded himself, to the day of his death, as a Churchman, and Methodism as a movement within the Church. The meetings of the Methodist groups were arranged to take place at times which did not coincide with those of the ordinary services in church. He did not wish to monopolise the work of preaching within the movement, but he was able to induce few clergy to join him, and with some reluctance he consented to laymen undertaking preaching duties. The Methodist preachers met with much opposition as they went about the country. The hostility of the country clergy and squires was reinforced by the violence of the mob. Methodists were stoned, beaten, ducked in ponds, attacked by dogs, pelted with filth. But the work went on. In course of time Wesley held an annual conference of representatives of his societies, and the conference, which still meets every year, has become the governing body among the Wesleyan Methodists at the present time.

The movement spread to America, and Wesley was anxious

that it should be under the direction of clergy properly ordained. He wanted it to be controlled in the New World by a bishop, and made unsuccessful application to the English bishops for the consecration of a bishop for this part of his work. He ultimately consecrated a bishop himself. By doing this he violated the rule of the Church of England, in which only bishops have authority to ordain and consecrate, but he justified his action on the ground of the refusal of the English bishops to exercise their power and so assist in his work.

Before his death, in 1791, Wesley's adherents in this country numbered hundreds of thousands, and to-day there are many millions of Methodists in various parts of the world. Separation from the Church proved to be inevitable, and divisions appeared within the movement itself. While Wesley still lived Whitfield separated from him and formed a distinct body, the Calvinistic Methodists, but Whitfield was inferior to Wesley in organising ability, and the Calvinistic Methodists never became a really important group. In the early nineteenth century Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians, Free Methodists and other sections broke away from the parent body, but the Wesleyan Methodists remained the most influential and numerous of the Methodist sects. It may be added that since the beginning of the twentieth century there has been within Methodism a strong tendency towards reunion, which has already been achieved to some extent.

The Methodist movement had its effect within as well as outside the Church of England. The revival of religion brought about by John Wesley touched the clergy, and in the latter part of the eighteenth century the stagnation and dullness which characterised the Church under the first two Georges gave place to renewed spiritual activity. The Evangelical movement began, and though the early Evangelicals had little sympathy with the Methodists they were fired with the same zeal for the spread of true religion, and vied with the Methodists in the purity and holiness of their lives. Missionary work to heathen lands was undertaken, and philanthropic activity was quickened at home. The establishment of Sunday Schools for the instruction of the poor, both children and adults, was begun by Robert Raikes, prison reform was urged by John Howard, and an agitation against the slave-trade was begun by Wilberforce and Macaulay.

The influence of the Methodist movement in another direction must not be overlooked. While much of the Methodist preaching consisted in an appeal to the emotions, and was followed by reaction, there was a real improvement in the lives of the people as a whole. Vice, drunkenness and theft diminished. They did not disappear; they have not disappeared yet. But the moral standard of the people improved, and it would not be true to assert that at the end of the eighteenth century the whole of the lower classes were steeped in ignorance and wickedness. That the working classes in Great Britain refused to imitate the French at the end of the century in rising against their rulers was due to several causes, not the least of which was the sobering and steadying and uplifting influence of Methodism.

John Wesley was one of the most remarkable men of whom history makes mention. He was a great evangelist, a great organiser, and a great saint. He invites comparison with St. Francis, the great saint of the later Middle Ages. Both men abandoned all hope of earthly gain, both ministered to the sick and poor, both did all and gave up all for the glory of God and the good of men. But there is one point of difference. The Church in the Middle Ages recognised and made use of the saintliness of Francis; the Church of England in the eighteenth century did not know what to do with the saintliness of Wesley. The one was canonised, the other cold-shouldered. The Church of Rome was the richer for the zeal of St. Francis; the Church of England is the poorer for the separation of the Methodists.

CHAPTER XIII

GEORGE III AND THE TORIES

It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that the great difference between Whigs and Tories in the first part of the Hanoverian period lay in their attitude towards the reigning House. The Whigs were supporters of the Revolution and of the succession laid down in the Act of Settlement; the position of the Tories was not so clear and definite. Except for a few extremists they were no longer active partisans of the exiled royal line, but it was certain that, in the event of a Stuart restoration being attempted, they would offer no serious resistance to it, and might even support it. It was, therefore, out of the question for them to be entrusted with the rule of the country, and public affairs were directed by the Whigs.

Nobody realised this more clearly than Bolingbroke. This remarkable man, who was utterly devoid of moral principle, was Secretary of State during the last four years of the reign of Queen Anne, and towards the end of this period he intrigued at home and abroad to secure the succession of the Pretender to the queen. But Anne's sudden death five days after his quarrel with Harley left Bolingbroke powerless. George I became king. Bolingbroke soon fled to join the Pretender abroad, and an Act of Attainder was passed condemning him as a traitor. Within a year he had quarrelled with his Stuart master and had left him, and for some years he was in the unusual position of being regarded as a traitor by both parties. He concluded at length that the Stuart cause was hopeless, and he negotiated through friends in England for his pardon. It was granted in 1722, and his titles and estates were restored to him, though he was forbidden to resume his seat in the House of Lords.

He devoted the rest of his life to the task of purging the Tory party of Jacobitism. He built up the New Tory party, pledged to loyalty to the House of Hanover and to the principles of the Revolution, and he aimed at the ultimate over-

throw of the Whig oligarchy. His prospects of immediate success were not great, for George II and Queen Caroline were devoted to Walpole, while the Whig party was well entrenched behind Newcastle's System. But time was on his side. As the years passed and the older men on the Tory side died off, their successors, to whom Stuart rule was not even a memory, were attracted to a line of policy which might one day lead to the overthrow of their political opponents. The New Tories hoped much from the Prince of Wales, Frederick, who was not on good terms with the king and queen. Bolingbroke wrote a book, *On the Idea of a Patriot King*, in which he described the ideal king of this country, a monarch who should be above party and should not be dependent upon a party (and certainly not upon the Whig party). He indicated that he regarded Frederick as the future Patriot King and he looked forward to the time when, with Frederick on the throne, Walpole would be dismissed and the Whigs overthrown, while he, restored to his place in the House of Lords, would be at the head of a New Tory ministry. The uncertainty of human aspirations is illustrated by the fact that George II outlived not only his son Frederick but both Walpole and Bolingbroke.

When Frederick died, in 1751, his young son George became heir to the throne. The future George III was brought up by his mother, the Dowager Princess of Wales, and was educated by tutors of her selection. He made up for his lack of great intellectual capacity by the cultivation of a habit of steady application to work. His moral character was far better than that of either his grandfather or his great-grandfather; he was the only Hanoverian monarch before Victoria whose private life was above reproach. Unlike his immediate predecessors he was born and reared in this country and was essentially an Englishman. He was the first king of his line to whom Great Britain was more important than Hanover (which he never visited), and in his first speech to Parliament after his accession he said, "I glory in the name of Briton." But his mother was narrow-minded and obstinate, and she made him narrow-minded and obstinate. She believed firmly in Bolingbroke's Patriot King, and, with the injunction, "George, be a king," she constantly exhorted her son not to imitate the attitude of the first two Hanoverians. He was thus encouraged to follow his father in adopting the ideas

embodied in Bolingbroke's book, and he approached manhood with a growing dislike of the Whig party.

He became king in 1760. From the beginning of his reign he was dissatisfied with the small amount of influence he was able to exercise upon public affairs. He contrasted his power with that of earlier English sovereigns. The Tudors had ruled the country; so had the Stuarts. Even William III and Anne had been able to exert influence on the course of affairs. Not until the reign of George I did the monarchy sink into insignificance. George III also contrasted his position with that of other European monarchs of his time. Louis XV in France, Frederick the Great in Prussia, Maria Theresa in Austria, Charles III in Spain, were absolute monarchs. They and a number of sovereigns of lesser importance were known as benevolent despots. European kings of the eighteenth century tried to rule for the benefit of their people. They regarded their positions as sacred trusts. But though great reforms were initiated they came from the Crown and not from the people. Government was for the people but not by the people. The kings in Europe, if they were benevolent, were also despots. And George III was not in a position to be a despot.

He regarded this lowering of royal power as due to the action of the Whigs in usurping the proper functions of the monarch. George I and George II were, in his view, not free from blame in failing to act more vigorously in defence of the royal power against the encroachments of the politicians. But the Whig party was the object of the special dislike of the Patriot King, and he was from the first resolved upon its overthrow.

The constitutional position, however, was well established. The days of Stuart kings who might attempt to rule without Parliament were long since past. Parliament was essential to the working of the constitution. It must meet regularly, and the king's ministers must be able to command a parliamentary majority. George could do nothing in defiance of Parliament. He might, however, recover some of his lost power if he could control Parliament by so arranging matters that the majority in the House of Commons would support ministers of whom he approved.

He realised that the Whig parliamentary majority was maintained by corrupt means, and that the overthrow of the

Whigs could be accomplished only by the defeat of the System. He proposed to bring this about by adopting the methods of the System on his own behalf. He secured the support of a group of members of Parliament by methods which were in imitation of those of Newcastle. The king was the fount of honour. He was in a position to distribute titles, appointments and pensions, and in various ways to dangle tempting baits before greedy politicians. In an age of little scruple in public life many men who entered the political game for what they could get out of it were ready to attach themselves to the king, who was always in power, rather than to a party which might be at times out of office. The new group was known as the "King's Friends" and was ready to carry out the king's will, to support ministers of whom the king approved, and to oppose those who were obnoxious to him.

The king's plans were based on the assumption that Whigs and Tories would always be opposed to each other. It was necessary, therefore, for the party of the King's Friends to exceed in number the difference between the numbers of the two main parties. When his party had grown to this extent the king was master of the political situation. His Friends, by voting with the Tories, could expel the Whigs from office.

Yet George had no intention of being the dependent of the Tory party in the way that his predecessors had been subject to the Whigs. But of this there was little danger. The principles upheld by the Whigs emphasised the subordination of the king to Parliament; the Tories were the political successors of those who had supported the crown against its enemies. And although the throne was now occupied by one of another line the New Tories would be readier than the Whigs to give it unquestioning support.

Some years necessarily elapsed before George's plans were in full working order, and during the first ten years of his reign there were several ministerial changes. When he became king Pitt and Newcastle were still in office. George made it his business to remove them as soon as possible. Had he been a man of clearer insight he might have perceived that Pitt, though a Whig, despised the System by which Newcastle kept the Government together, and only consented to hold office under such conditions because of the necessity of defeating the French in the Seven Years War. Between

Pitt and the young king an understanding might have been reached as the result of which the old Whig group might have been deprived of power, corruption might have been reduced, and Parliament might have been reformed. But such an arrangement would have left Pitt, rather than the king, supreme, and George, even if the idea had occurred to him, would not have been attracted by it.

Pitt resigned in 1761, following a difference of opinion with the king on the subject of declaring war against Spain, and the Marquis of Bute, a New Tory, became Prime Minister. He was unpopular, and the nation regarded the Treaty of Paris, concluded by him, as less satisfactory than a peace arranged by Pitt might have been. He resigned in 1763, and George for a time accepted as Prime Minister George Grenville, a Whig, indeed, but not a Whig of the old group. The first incidents in the American dispute occurred under Grenville. Before long he quarrelled with the king, who was able to replace him only by turning, reluctantly, to the Marquis of Rockingham, one of the Old Whigs, in 1765. He patched up the American trouble for the moment, but the king was hostile to him, the King's Friends voted against him, and he was soon dismissed from office. In 1766 George recalled Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, to office, and his mixed Whig and Tory ministry continued for two years. Chatham himself was seriously ill during most of this time, and the renewal of the American trouble in 1767 cannot be laid to his charge. After his resignation in 1768 the Duke of Grafton carried on the Government till 1770, when he, too, resigned.

He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord North, who proved to be the minister of whom the king entirely approved. He was a Tory, and during his twelve years of office the king was the real ruler of the country. North was always prepared to defer to the king. Supported by the Tories and the King's Friends he appeared to be secure. There seemed to be no reason why his ministry should not last until his death or that of the king. National affairs did not flourish. The American quarrel developed into war and disaster, but George had no thought of dispensing with North and his colleagues. By 1782, however, North was so weary of his position that he suddenly resigned, much to the king's anger.

George had made no preparation whatever for a possible successor to North, and with the greatest reluctance he per-

mitted the establishment of a Whig ministry with Rockingham as Prime Minister. At his death, not long afterwards, Lord Shelburne carried on the Government for a time and made the peace which recognised American independence. But he was disliked by a considerable section of the Whig party which, under the leadership of Charles James Fox, united with the Tories under North to turn him out.

Then followed a "Coalition" ministry of Whigs and Tories. George was completely overpowered for the moment. His system had been based on the assumption that Whigs and Tories would always oppose each other, and that the King's Friends would always hold the balance of political power; in the face of this alliance of Whigs and Tories he could do nothing. Much as he detested the Whigs he hated the coalition more. But an India Bill passed through the Commons by the Government was rejected in the Lords through the king's personal appeal to the peers. George then dismissed the coalition and appointed William Pitt, the second son of the Earl of Chatham, to be Prime Minister at the age of twenty-four. The appointment appeared to be ridiculous, and was received with derision. Its extraordinary success will be described in a later chapter.

With the advent to office of the younger Pitt the personal power of George III gradually declined. Pitt was not, like North, a mere mouthpiece of the king, but a statesman of high character who would have resigned rather than have subordinated his judgment to the king's. During his term of office the first signs of the madness which clouded the king's later years appeared. George III's control over public affairs lessened, his party decayed, and the last serious attempt of an English sovereign to rule as well as to reign came to an end. But the king's failure to maintain his personal influence did not bring Tory rule to an end, and the party continued to direct national affairs until the death of George IV, in 1830.

CHAPTER XIV

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The thirteen British colonies on the eastern seaboard of North America consisted of three groups, each of which exhibited characteristics distinct from those of the others. The New England colonies in the north had been founded by Puritan settlers at various times in the Stuart period and were still Puritan, with all the intolerance associated with that form of religious belief. The climate of New England was temperate, not unlike that of Great Britain. Little or no slavery existed there, and the prosperity of the region depended on the labour of white men, who were engaged in such industries as lumbering, agriculture and shipbuilding. The middle group of settlements, including New York and New Jersey, which had been conquered from the Dutch in the seventeenth century, possessed similar climatic characteristics, but the population was not so distinctively of English Puritan stock, and included men from most of the nations of northern Europe. The subtropical climate of Virginia and the Carolinas had led to the establishment of a totally different economic system, in which white men were the owners of substantial estates on which tobacco and other crops were cultivated by the labour of slaves—negro or convict. Politically the colonies were more advanced than Great Britain. Each of them had its Assembly, a body which was elected by the votes of the white population of the colony. It may be observed that settlers from the British Isles who had not been qualified to vote at home usually found themselves, after their arrival in North America, in possession of the franchise. The Assembly made the laws of the colony and imposed upon it such taxation as was required.

The amount of control exercised by the home Government was small. The Governor of each colony was appointed from Great Britain, but his authority was not very extensive, since it was limited by the rights of the colonial Assembly, and friction between Governor and Assembly was not uncommon.

The mother-country was responsible for the defence of the colonies from French and Indian attack, but, before the triumph over the French, the settlers had always to be on their guard against sudden onslaught, and only in the event of serious and prolonged fighting were British troops likely to be sent to America. Colonial trade was under British control. In the eighteenth century colonies were regarded less as new nations in their infancy than as outposts of the mother-country, established to supply to Great Britain those things which, for climatic and other reasons, she was unable to produce for herself, and to offer markets for British products. From this point of view it was to be expected that the colonies would always be subordinate to Great Britain in commercial matters. By the Navigation Acts of the Stuart period all enumerated colonial products had to be sent to Great Britain, and the enumeration naturally included all the more important colonial exports; non-enumerated products might be sent elsewhere, though all exports from the colonies, enumerated and non-enumerated alike, might be carried only in British or colonial ships and under no circumstances in foreign ships. These regulations were less onerous than those imposed by the Governments of France and Spain on their colonies, and if the English colonists felt that they were at a disadvantage in having a restricted market for their chief products they had the assurance that the market was constant and the price stable, while, as regards shipping, their own was on an equal footing with that of Great Britain.

The thirteen colonies were entirely distinct and separate from one another. No sort of federation existed, and the one or two attempts which had been made in time past to bring it about had failed. The colonies happened to be situated in close proximity to one another, but there was no closer political connection than would have existed if they had been scattered about the five continents. Each was supposed to be connected with Great Britain only, and if it should be necessary for one colony to communicate with another it was supposed to do so through Great Britain. Nor was there any real desire for federation. A good deal of jealousy and friction existed among the colonies, and they were driven to some sort of unity only under the pressure of the quarrel with Great Britain with which this chapter deals. (It is, perhaps, not out of place to observe that at the present day, a century and a half after the

separation from Great Britain, traces of this feeling remain in the United States, where the separate states are ever alert in opposing any attempt of the central government to increase its authority at their expense.)

Under the rule of the Whigs the trading restrictions had been relaxed to a considerable extent, and it is probable that colonial exporters found no serious difficulty in evading the regulations whenever it was to their interest to do so. This state of affairs went on for many years—so long, in fact, that it seemed improbable that the Navigation Laws would ever again be strictly enforced. But when George III ascended the throne British policy towards the colonies changed. In 1764 Grenville gave orders for the more effective enforcement of the Navigation Acts. The Americans were angry, but could find no good ground for protest. No new system was being set up; a system which had existed for a century was to be changed from a farce to a reality. The opportunity of expressing their discontent came a year later, when taxation of the colonies by the British Parliament was proposed, but it has been contended that "taxation was only the occasion, not the cause, of the American revolt."

The Seven Years War had ended with the National Debt standing at a higher figure than ever before, and the annual charge for interest involved a very heavy burden on the British exchequer. Under the circumstances, Grenville contended that some part of the cost of the defence of the American colonies ought, in future, to be borne by the settlers themselves, instead of, as hitherto, the whole of it falling upon Great Britain. This seemed reasonable, but it was contended on behalf of the Americans that Great Britain made very large profits by her monopoly of American trade, and that the submission of the colonists to Great Britain in the matter of commercial regulation was a full equivalent of the cost of their defence. Grenville, however, proposed to raise by taxes in America the sum of £100,000 per annum, to be devoted towards the cost of maintaining troops in the colonies. To American representatives in London he put forward, in 1764, a suggestion that the money should be obtained by a stamp duty on paper and deeds of various kinds. He told them that he did not wish to insist on this method, and, if they preferred another, he was prepared to consider any alternative suggestion for raising the required amount. In the following

months they made no attempt to bring forward an alternative, but they spent the time in raising an alarm in the colonies, so that by the time Grenville's scheme came into operation colonial opinion was already organised against it.

The British contention, as stated above, was that, in view of the substantial benefit conferred upon the colonies by the expulsion of the French from North America during the Seven Years War and of the serious financial position of Great Britain, some contribution ought to be made by them towards the cost of their defence in future. Such a contribution could not be left to the colonial Assemblies. The smaller colonies would not agree to pay as much as the more important; the latter would be unwilling to pay more than others; no basis of assessment would be found acceptable to all; each would await the decision of others, and nothing would be done. Taxation must be imposed by a common authority, and in view of the lack of colonial unity the only common authority was the British Parliament.

The Americans contended that the British Parliament had no right to tax them, since they were not represented in it, and "no taxation without representation" became the colonial slogan during the struggle. They held that the British Parliament had no more authority over the colonies than the English Parliament had over Scotland before the Union of 1707. They claimed, in fact, to be in a position of equality with Great Britain, and asserted that the colonial Assemblies stood in the same relation to the king as the British Parliament did. This was inconsistent with their acceptance of the Navigation Acts, and it was clear that if the Americans could carry their point they would not be slow to claim that the Navigation Acts were inapplicable to them.

The Stamp Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1765. It directed that, in the colonies, legal documents of various kinds, and also newspapers, should be written or printed on stamped paper, which was to be obtained from the Government for the value of the stamp. Meetings of protest were held in the colonies, and resolutions were passed and sent to England. Riots occurred, and Government offices were stormed and the stamped paper destroyed. But resolutions can be ignored and riots can be quelled. The most effective form of protest was found to lie in the formation of non-importation agreements, by which Americans bound themselves to

discontinue the use of British goods while the obnoxious tax remained. The volume of trade between Great Britain and America fell off, and merchants became alarmed. A change of government in Great Britain made a change of policy easier. Grenville fell, and Rockingham and the Old Whigs came into power for a short time. The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, and, although a Declaratory Act was passed by which the British Parliament claimed the right to tax the colonies, the Americans felt that they had won a real victory.

Rockingham's ministry was short-lived, and in 1767 Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Chatham ministry, revived Grenville's policy with some changes in detail. The Americans had always admitted the British right to regulate their trade, and this had involved the existence of import duties at the ports. Grenville's proposal had set up direct taxation in the interior of the colonies; Townshend thought that the American objection would not apply to indirect taxation, which was levied only at the ports. Accordingly he established customs duties on the import of tea, glass, red and white lead, painters' colours and paper. The amount to be raised by these duties was estimated at £40,000 per annum, and the money was to be used in payment of the salaries of various colonial officials. The colonists, however, distinguished between indirect taxation which was levied, as in Great Britain, for the purpose of trade regulation, and that which was imposed in order that revenue might be raised, and they contended that the new duties came within the latter category. The objections that had been raised against the Stamp Act applied equally to Townshend's imposts, and the same means of protest were applied. The non-importation agreements were not quite so successful on this occasion, however, and the taxes continued for several years.

At this point mention may be made of the fact that opinion was not unanimous on either side of the Atlantic. There was a minority of Americans who held that the English action was not unreasonable, and there was a considerable body of opinion in this country which was opposed to the taxation of America. Pitt and Burke in their speeches voiced the Whig denunciations of the Government's policy. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, was a member of the ministry which included Townshend, but he was seriously ill during most of his term of office, and when he was able to get down to the House of Lords it was to criticise

the actions of his colleagues. Burke made several eloquent speeches in which, arguing from first principles, he condemned the taxation of the colonists as unconstitutional and inadvisable.

From a revenue-raising point of view Townshend's duties proved to be a failure, and in 1770 Lord North removed all the obnoxious duties except that upon tea, and this was retained, at the king's personal wish, more for the sake of asserting the right to tax America than on account of any expectation of substantial revenue to be obtained from it. In the southern colonies opposition to this trifling impost practically died away, but hostility continued in New England. In 1770 a riot at Boston was suppressed with some bloodshed, and the incident was termed by the Americans the Boston Massacre. In 1772 the colonists captured and burnt the *Gaspee*, a revenue cutter which had run aground. In 1773 Lord North permitted the East India Company to take tea direct to America instead of bringing it to England first. The effect of this concession was that, although a duty of threepence per pound was payable at the American port, the duty of one shilling per pound which had been paid hitherto at the English port was evaded. The Americans might henceforth obtain their tea at a price less by ninepence per pound than they were paying before Townshend imposed his duty in 1767.

It might be argued that if the grievance still remained it was by this time a very little one. The Americans did not think so, and were not to be bribed into acceptance of taxation by this reduction in the price of their tea. An East Indiaman in Boston harbour was boarded by some hundreds of young Bostonians disguised as Red Indians, who overpowered the crew and threw the chests of tea into the sea. In the following year, 1774, the British Government took strong action against the Bostonians. The port was closed; ships were forbidden to visit it and were diverted to Salem, a few miles away. The Assembly of Massachusetts was suspended, and the colony reverted to the position of a crown colony, governed directly by Great Britain. The Assembly continued to meet, however, and called itself a Convention—an ominous name, since the two Conventions which met in England in the seventeenth century met at times of revolution.

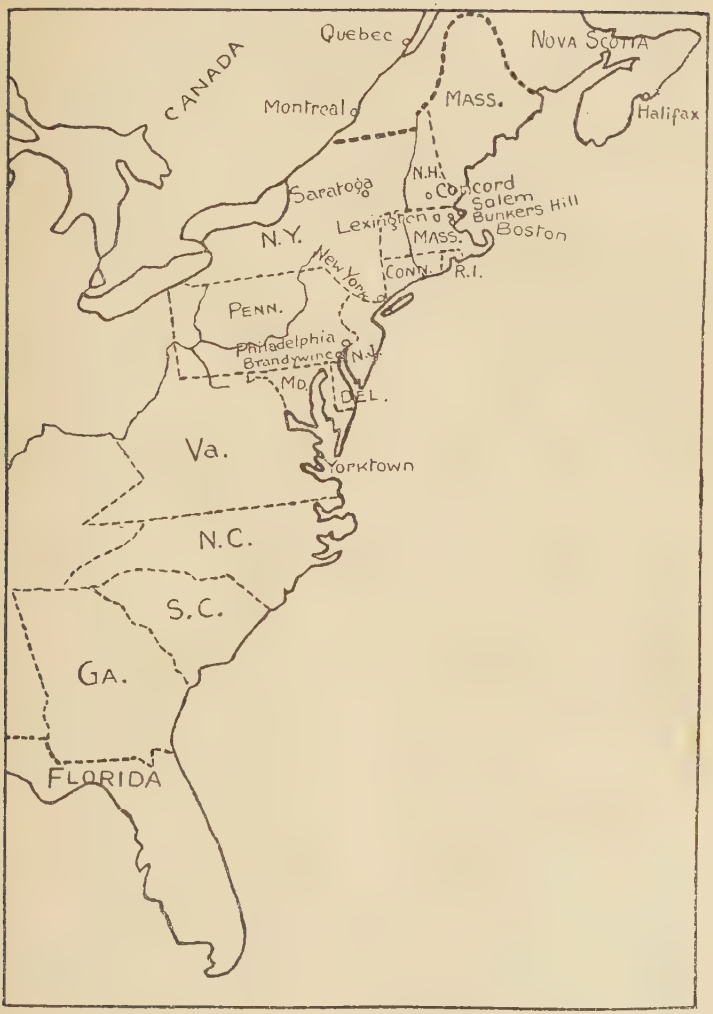
It was evident, however, that if the matter narrowed down to a contest between Great Britain and Massachusetts the mother-country would win. The only possibility of any other

result lay in the colonies disregarding their old jealousies and taking united action in support of one another. The Assembly of Virginia, the oldest of the colonies, invited each of the others to send representatives to a Congress to meet at Philadelphia. Twelve of them did so, and before long Georgia, the thirteenth, fell into line. This Congress was, from the British point of view, an unauthorised body, with no official position whatever, and the British Government refused to recognise it or to treat with it, but its existence was essential to American prospects of success.

Matters grew worse in 1775. The authorities at Boston feared that a depot of military stores at Concord, in the interior of New Hampshire, might fall into the hands of the colonists, who by this time were taking up arms. A force was sent from Boston to Concord to recover the stores or, if it should prove impossible to transport them to Boston, to destroy them. This was done. On the way back to Boston the British troops were attacked by colonials at Lexington, where the first fighting in the war took place. The Battle of Lexington was no more than a sharp running skirmish, and the British succeeded in cutting their way through and reaching Boston. Nevertheless, the incident was full of encouragement for the rebels, who followed it up by attempting a blockade of Boston itself. They took up a position on Bunker's Hill, outside Boston, from which they were dislodged only after severe fighting.

Meanwhile, an American attempt to secure the co-operation of the Canadians failed. The French on the St. Lawrence had been under British rule for only fifteen years, but they found it so satisfactory that they were disinclined to rise against it, even though the result of their doing so might be the restoration of French authority. The passing of the Quebec Act by the British Parliament in 1774 satisfied all the desires of the Canadians, and they remained passive throughout the war. Congress also at this time sent the Olive Branch petition to the king, but George refused to consider any communication from a rebel assembly.

In April 1776, Congress threw off the trade restrictions by declaring American trade open to the whole world. This was the most formal act of defiance attempted up to this point. If a peaceful settlement could have been arranged, the fighting in Massachusetts could have been disregarded as the work of irresponsible irregulars. But this was a challenge which



AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

Great Britain could not ignore, and it was followed on the fourth of July, 1776, by the Declaration of Independence.

The war fell into two parts. During the first two years the British attempted to stamp out opposition in the northern and middle colonies, which were the more determined in their resistance. British military and naval headquarters were moved from Boston to New York, and for a time the king's troops held their own and even made some progress. Philadelphia was captured, and a year after the Declaration of Independence the American Commander-in-Chief, George Washington, was doubtful of ultimate victory. But the colonists achieved a notable success in 1777 at Saratoga, when General Burgoyne with some thousands of men was forced to surrender to the colonial General Gates. With this event the northern colonies were lost, though the British retained the city of New York till the end of the war. In the latter part of the war a serious effort was made to recover the southern colonies, where resistance to the British had always been less strenuous than in the north. Lord Cornwallis marched through Georgia and South Carolina and defeated the rebels, but he was less successful in North Carolina and Virginia. With depleted forces he reached the coast at Yorktown, in 1781, where he expected a fleet to meet him and embark his army. Its non-arrival compelled him to surrender, and the loss of the colonies was complete.

Britain's difficulties proved to be France's opportunity. The time had come for a war of retaliation in which the French defeats in the Seven Years War might be avenged. France declared war in 1778 and Spain followed in 1779. Great Britain at this time became embroiled with other nations on account of her claim to search the merchant vessels of neutral countries in order to prevent goods and war-supplies from reaching the rebels. This claim was resented by neutral powers, and Holland declared war in 1780. Several of the states of northern Europe, including Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark, formed the "Armed Neutrality" to resist the British claim, and at any time the members of this league might declare war. Great Britain thus stood alone against a host of open enemies and unfriendly neutrals. Fighting occurred in various parts of the world. The French settlements in India, Pondicherri, Mahé and Chandernagar, were captured by the British, and although the Rajah of Mysore,

under French instigation, invaded the Carnatic, he was defeated and driven back. For three years Gibraltar was besieged without success by the French and Spanish. Some British West Indian islands were captured by the enemy, but the French fishing-stations in the St. Lawrence, St. Pierre and Miquelon, were taken by the British. Minorca, however, was taken in 1782 by the French and Spanish. The strength of the British navy had fallen since the Treaty of Paris, while the French navy had been steadily built up again under Choiseul, the leading minister of France from 1759 to 1770. For a time the French fleet in the north Atlantic, under the Comte de Grasse, was so strong that the British squadron at New York was unable to put to sea. It was for this reason that Cornwallis had been left to his fate at Yorktown in 1781. In 1782, however, Rodney was able to engage and defeat De Grasse at the Battle of the Saints, in the West Indies. British naval supremacy was restored, but too late. America was lost.

By the Peace of Versailles in 1783 Great Britain recognised the independence of the revolted colonies. France recovered her three trading stations in India without condition (the stipulation that they should not be garrisoned or fortified was no longer retained), Senegal in West Africa, St. Pierre and Miquelon in the St. Lawrence, and the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies. Further, the French undertaking not to fortify Dunkirk was dropped. Spain retained Minorca and received Florida from Great Britain. She demanded Gibraltar also, but Great Britain refused to give it up, and, when she realised that if she insisted upon her demand she might be left to continue the war alone against this country, she withdrew it.

That the British were defeated in the struggle is not surprising. The contest with the Americans was carried on in a country some thousands of miles from the British Isles, a land which was familiar to its defenders and unfamiliar to the British troops. The forces employed were inadequate for the task of crushing the rebellion, and the officers, who had been trained in the principles of warfare as practised in Europe, were unsuitable for directing the fighting in a colony. It has been pointed out that a minority of the colonists was sympathetic with the British cause, but no effort was made to foster this feeling, and when British troops advanced and occupied a fresh region there was no differentiation in

treatment between loyalist and rebel. The troops employed in the work of subjugation were, for the most part, not British at all, but German. Contingents of Hessian troops were hired by George III from the Landgrave of Hesse, and formed the chief part of the royal army in America. When to all these circumstances is added the fact that Great Britain was at the same time at war with several other European powers it is remarkable that disaster was not more complete. Yet, in spite of all, this country might have pulled through and held her own had not the command of the sea been lost at a critical moment. British naval weakness was the decisive reason for British defeat.

The results of the conflict were serious and important. It is not remarkable, however, that they were not properly realised at the time. So humiliating a peace, coming so soon after the Treaty of Paris, caused men to think that "the sun of England's greatness had set." But the sun had not set; it was merely obscured for a time by a passing cloud. England's greatness had not passed away, but the Old Colonial System, the system of commercial regulation based on the Navigation Acts, the system of keeping colonies in permanent subordination to the mother-country, was doomed. No further attempts have been made by the British Parliament to tax British colonies, and, though the system of trade control was not formally abolished for another half-century, it was of little importance henceforth.

The position of the American loyalists was very difficult. Their neighbours treated them with hostility, and many of them were glad to leave the new republic, the United States of America, and settle under the British flag in Canada. They did not join with the French and Catholic peoples on the St. Lawrence, but formed a new Canada in the region of the Great Lakes, a Canada which was British and Protestant; it was called Upper Canada to distinguish it from the other, which was henceforth known as Lower Canada.

The revolt was not without its effects on this side of the Atlantic. Britain's difficulty afforded an opportunity to the Irish, who in 1782 were able to secure the grant of an independent Irish Parliament. France, too, felt the effect of American independence. She had assisted the rebels; French volunteers had fought side by side with Americans in order that the latter might throw off the tyranny of the British. But when

the French troops returned to their own country and related their adventures to their friends they could find no better description of this British tyranny than that it consisted of a threepenny tax on tea. The French peasantry suffered at the hands of the French aristocracy more serious oppression than this. This is not the place to describe their grievances; it is evident, however, that if Americans could fight so strenuously and so long for what seemed so slight a cause the French might be stirred to move against the oppression that they had borne so long. And this was not the least of the causes of the French Revolution.

Before the separation of the colonies from Great Britain it had been customary to transport convicts to the Carolinas and to Virginia. This was now impossible, and another destination had to be provided for these unfortunate wretches. In 1787 a body of convicts, under the command of Captain Phillip, was sent to Botany Bay, and in 1788 the first Australian settlement was made. The future importance of the new colony was not then realised. It was regarded as suitable for the reception of convicts chiefly because of its remoteness. According to the ideas then held, the man who committed serious crime should be put to death, and, if mercy was shown him to the extent of sparing his life, he ought to pass the remainder of it as far away as possible. But the settlement then made, together with others which followed from time to time, led to the establishment of a group of colonies scarcely, if at all, inferior in importance to those which had been lost. A new British Empire was built up, and a New Colonial System was evolved, a system by which colonies were regarded as infant nations, destined in course of time to grow up and reach maturity.

CHAPTER XV

THE RULE OF CLIVE AND HASTINGS IN INDIA

After the destruction of French influence in Bengal and the Carnatic, recorded in an earlier chapter, Clive returned to England in 1760. During his absence from India Mir Jaffir, who became Nabob of Bengal in succession to Siraj-ud-Daula, was superseded by his son-in-law, Mir Cossim. The province was misruled and plundered by native and British officials alike, and in 1763 Mir Cossim took up arms against the British. He massacred two hundred British at Patna and retired into Oudh, confident of the support of the Nabob of Oudh and of the Great Mogul. British authority was restored after the Battle of Buxar, 1764, in which Major Munro defeated both nabobs and took the Mogul prisoner. By the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765 the Mogul authorised the Company to collect the revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. It was to retain half, and was to divide the other half between the Mogul and the Nabob of Bengal. The nabob continued, however, to be responsible for the administration of justice.

Clive went back to India in 1765, and took up his duties as Governor of Bengal. The Dual System, by which the Company controlled the finances and the nabob the justice of the province, could hardly be regarded as a satisfactory and permanent arrangement. Clive found great disorder in Bengal. Taxes were wrung from the peasantry by native collectors under British supervisors, and both native and British grew rich. In the East, in the eighteenth century, the dishonesty of tax-collectors was so common as to pass without remark, and the more influential of them supplemented their embezzlements by accepting large "presents" from wealthy natives. The Company's officials, whose salaries were inadequate, eked out their slender official remuneration by private trading, which was rendered easier by the fact that the captains of East Indiamen were by custom entitled to a certain amount of space in

the holds of their ships for private cargo. Arrangements were entered into between officials and captains; both classes made fortunes while the Company was approaching bankruptcy. Many of these officials, after a period of service in India, returned home with great wealth; they were commonly known in England as "nabobs."

In the short period (1765–7) of Clive's governorship he was unable to establish a satisfactory system of tax collection. But he prohibited the acceptance of presents by officials, and he forbade private trading. In order to make it possible for Europeans to live in India without adding to their incomes in underhand ways he made large increases in official salaries.

He was bitterly attacked by the men who were affected by his regulations. He returned to England, but charges of corruption were brought against him. It was true that he had amassed a fortune in India, and it is probable that he had not been too scrupulous in his methods. But his enemies were men who wanted the corruption of Indian government to continue and who objected to the reforms that he established. Clive was never put on trial. The Commons appointed a committee to investigate the charges against him, and in due course the House expressed its opinion on the matter by passing a resolution that "Robert, Lord Clive, hath rendered great and meritorious services to his country." But the attack left its mark upon his mind, which became unhinged, and in 1774 he committed suicide.

A serious famine in 1770 led to a further falling off in revenue, and in 1772 the Company sent out Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal to reorganise British rule in the province. There was, however, a growing feeling in England that the government of a province containing 25,000,000 people, involving the collection of a revenue of £4,000,000 per annum and the maintenance of an army of 30,000 men, ought not to be left in the hands of a company of merchants. The right to rule ought to be derived from the Crown, and government ought to be carried on in the name of the Crown. Accordingly, Lord North's Regulating Act was passed in 1773. It directed that the Governor of Bengal should henceforth be styled Governor-General of Bengal, and that he should exercise authority over the Governors of Bombay and Madras. A Council of four members was to be appointed to assist the Governor-General, who was to preside at its meetings and be

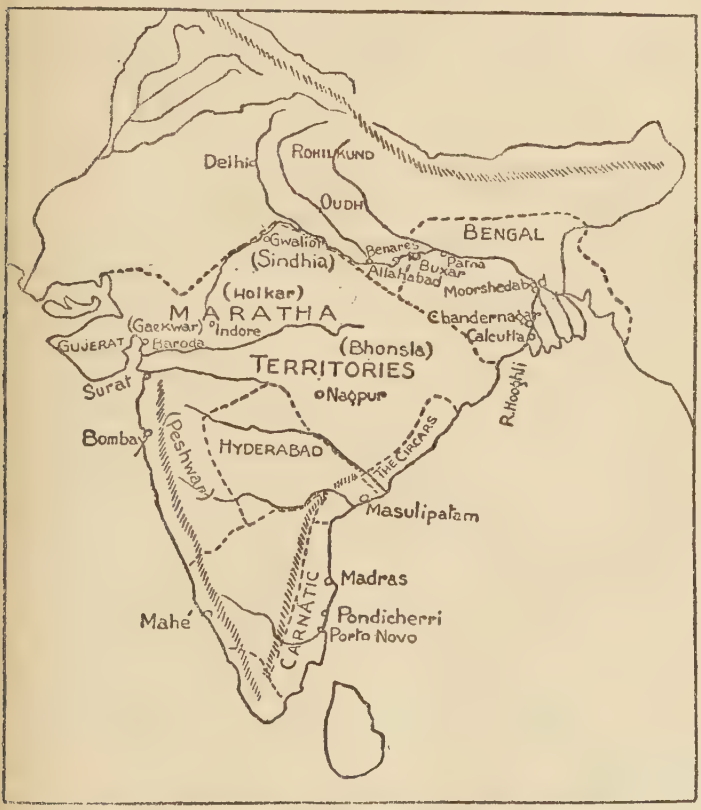
bound by its decisions. The Governor-General might vote at meetings of the Council, and in the event of a tie he might exercise a further, or casting, vote. A Supreme Court of Justice was established at Calcutta, in which English judges were to administer the law.

Warren Hastings was appointed Governor-General under the act, and Sir Elijah Impey was appointed Chief Justice of the new Supreme Court. For the first two or three years of his rule Hastings was consistently opposed by his Council. Of the four members only Barwell supported the Governor-General, while Francis, Monson and Clavering disagreed with him, and Hastings was powerless to direct the course of policy. Monson died, however, in 1776, and as the Council was henceforth evenly divided, Hastings could, by the exercise of his casting vote, carry his views. Clavering died in 1777, and two new members, Wheler and Coote, were appointed, who gave general support to Hastings's policy.

Much of the work of Hastings in India was concerned with the abolition of corruption and the establishment of a satisfactory financial system. Things had become as bad as ever since the departure of Clive, and the new Governor-General rigidly enforced upon British officials the rules against private trading and the acceptance of presents. Native tax-collectors were removed from their posts, which were henceforth filled by British. A new land assessment was made, and the exchequer was removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta. The amount of the allowance paid under the Treaty of Allahabad to the Nabob of Bengal was reduced. For some years, however, the financial question was predominant, and Hastings found it difficult to raise enough money to carry on the government and to enable the Company to pay dividends at the same time.

In the early days of his rule, while he was yet opposed by a majority of his Council, charges of corruption and injustice were brought against Hastings by Nuncomar, a native of bad character. In course of time Nuncomar himself was accused of forgery and was sentenced to death by Sir Elijah Impey. The sentence, which was undoubtedly deserved, was carried out, but the enemies of the Governor-General represented the incident as a gross abuse of power by Sir Elijah Impey. It was suggested that the Chief Justice obligingly removed a much-wronged native who brought inconvenient

accusations against the Governor-General. This was, of course, not the case, and the charges against Nuncomar were quite independent of those which he brought against Hastings, and were fully proved.



India in the Time of Clive and Hastings, 1760–85

Hastings experienced a good deal of trouble with native rulers in the Ganges valley. The revenues of Benares, a district of Oudh, were assigned to the Company, and were to be used for the maintenance of a military force for the defence of Oudh. The subordinate Rajah of Benares, Cheyte Singh,

was of doubtful loyalty. He paid to the Company the sum of £50,000 in 1778, but in the following year the payment was made only after some delay, and in 1780 it was refused altogether. Hastings demanded payment of this and some other sums that were due, and, failing to receive satisfaction, deposed the rajah. The Nabob of Oudh asserted that he was unable to meet certain obligations to the Company, on the ground that the treasures of the state were under the control of the Begums (princesses) of Oudh. Hastings seized the treasure in order to satisfy the Company's claim.

The Marathas were a powerful confederacy of tribes in central India, with chiefs under the nominal headship of the Peshwar of Poona. Other chieftains, Sindhia, Holkar and Bhonsla, intrigued against the Peshwar, and the Governor of Bombay, acting without the assent of the Governor-General, intervened on behalf of the Peshwar. The Bombay forces achieved no success until General Goddard, with a small force, marched across India from Bengal to Bombay. Gujerat was captured, and Colonel Popham stormed Gwalior, a stronghold of Sindhia. The Marathas were thus given proof of the strength of British military power and were glad to make peace.

The Rajah of Mysore, a large state in southern India, was Hyder Ali, an able ruler who entered into close relations with the French, who were at war with Great Britain at this time. On their advice he invaded the Carnatic, and for a time the safety of Madras was in doubt. But Sir Eyre Coote, the veteran victor of Wandewash, and now a member of the Governor-General's council, defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novo and saved Madras. Hyder Ali died in 1782, leaving his throne to his son Tipu, who was far inferior in capacity to his father.

Pitt's India Act was passed in 1784, and a new era was begun in Indian history. The opportunity for retirement had come, and in 1785 Hastings laid down office and returned to England.

The malice of his enemies followed him in his retirement, and the Whigs in the House of Commons demanded his impeachment. The proceedings were managed by Burke and Sheridan, and the trial dragged on from 1788 to 1795. The chief charges related to Cheyte Singh, to the Begums of Oudh and to the extermination of the Rohillas, a tribe of mountain marauders. On every charge Hastings was acquitted. He was ruined by the expense of the trial, but a pension from

the Company enabled him to live in comfort until his death in 1818. The verdict was right. Hastings had been just, high-minded and honourable, and the charges against him were inspired by malice. Nevertheless, the trial served the useful purpose of reminding future rulers of India that they were not irresponsible despots, and that if their proceedings were not above reproach they might be called to account.

CHAPTER XVI

THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

UNTIL the middle of the eighteenth century little change had occurred in English agriculture since the Middle Ages. In many parts of the country the open-field system still existed, by which the arable land of a village, or manor, consisted of three very large fields, each divided into strips of the extent of an acre or half an acre. Every landowner in the village held a number of these strips, and a man's holding was scattered throughout the fields, no two of his strips being adjacent, as a rule. The strips were separated from each other by narrow grass balks. Only two of the fields were cultivated in any year, the third lying fallow, so that each field was idle every third year. The cultivation of the open arable fields was carried on by the custom of the manor, in accordance with a simple rotation of crops (wheat, barley, and then fallow, or wheat, beans and fallow), which had not varied for hundreds of years. Custom indicated the time of sowing, of reaping, and of ploughing, and no man would think of departing from it in these details. Some of those who possessed strips in the great fields were freeholders. Others were copyholders; they were descendants of medieval serfs who had been forced to work for the lord of the manor, and though this obligation had long ceased the copyholders still paid to the lord of the manor a "quitrent" which replaced compulsory labour. Yet other cultivators were leaseholders who paid an ordinary rent for their land, but it was less common for them to hold strips in the open fields. They were to be found, as a rule, in villages in which the open-field system had passed away, and they held farms that were consolidated and enclosed. In every manor in which the old system survived there was a considerable stretch of open pasture, or common, on which the peasants were entitled by custom to graze their cattle and sheep, and a few acres of woodland on which fuel could be obtained and timber cut. Though the country folk could show no legal

right to these privileges they had existed from time immemorial, and nobody thought of challenging them.

The peasantry in the countryside were not badly off. Although the produce of twenty or thirty acres of land, cultivated under an antique system, was inadequate to keep a family in comfort, the rights of grazing and woodcutting were valuable. The cottage occupied by the peasant was his own property, or he paid no more than a nominal rent for it. In addition, he was able to devote a good deal of time to weaving the yarn which was spun by his wife and daughters. This double basis of income saved him from destitution at most times. If his crops were poor he could fall back on his weaving. If the textile industry was slack the produce of his strips enabled him to hold on. He was not seriously troubled by the approach of old age and, unlike a modern workman, had no reason to fear occasional spells of unemployment. Even the death of the father did not leave the family destitute. All the members toiled in the fields, and all took some part in the textile industry.

The open-field system of cultivation could not be commended. It was wasteful of land, for in any one year one of the three fields was out of cultivation, and of time, for a man's holding was scattered, and he had to walk considerable distances to reach the remoter strips. All had to conform to the custom of the village in their cultivation, and the man who thought that better results might be obtained by a change of rotation or by the selection of a different date for sowing or reaping was unable to make experiments. The most industrious were at the mercy of the idlest. The weeds which grew on the land of the latter would spread to that of the former. The system had served the country well, but it had existed for some hundreds of years. It was antiquated, and while it remained no improvement was possible. Changes in agricultural methods had been made from time to time, but they were neither profound nor widespread, and there was opportunity to apply them only on the enclosed farms, leasehold and freehold, which existed here and there. Some manuring was done, some changes in rotation had been made, some new devices had been invented, but these things did not touch the open fields.

Yet change was bound to come. In the eighteenth century the population was increasing, and towards the end of the

century the rate of increase was considerable. More food was needed, but the yield could not be enlarged under the old system, which, therefore, had to give place to another. Scarcity of food naturally produced a tendency to a rise in prices; the prospect of getting more if he could produce more was likely to make the most old-fashioned farmer overhaul his methods. Furthermore, with the coming of the factory system the village textile industry began to decline. It was not until well in the nineteenth century that it ceased entirely, but as the volume of work became less and occasional periods of idleness occurred the cottager was driven to rely more and more upon his land. Weaving and agriculture were becoming separated. The peasant might give up his country life, sell his land and cottage, and go into one of the new factory towns, there to work at the machinery in a factory, or he might try to get his living entirely by agriculture. The time was approaching when he could not both weave and delve. But agriculture on the open-field system would not afford him a living, and the man who was determined to live by agriculture was forced to improve his methods.

The great need was for the cutting up of the open fields and the reallocation of the land among the people in consolidated blocks which might be enclosed. The matter was discussed in hundreds of villages in the eighteenth century. Country folk are by nature conservative and slow to change, and unanimous agreement in favour of enclosures was rarely met with. But this was not a matter which could be settled by the votes of a majority of the villagers, who had no legal right to take away the property of the minority, even if the latter were to be compensated by the gift of something in exchange. Parliament was appealed to, and passed an act sanctioning the change and overriding the opposition of the minority in every case in which the lord of the manor and four-fifths of the persons interested favoured it. Such Acts of Parliament were passed occasionally in the reign of George II, and were very numerous in the time of George III. They were fewer again in the reigns of his two sons, but this was because most of the land was by this time enclosed, and little remained to be done. The open fields disappeared, and the hedges which are such a prominent feature of the countryside to-day came into existence.

Consolidation and enclosure were absolutely necessary. It

does not follow that the reform was carried out in the best possible way. When an Enclosure Act had been passed a commissioner was appointed to visit the village and carry out the work of cutting up and reallocating. He attended to all claims, and there is no reason to think that he did not do his work fairly. But he could recognise only legal rights, and the peasants had hitherto enjoyed some privileges which were based not on legal right but on the custom of the manor. The commissioner could, and did, assign to the peasant a consolidated piece of land in exchange for the strips which he surrendered; he could give him no compensation for the loss of grazing and woodland "rights." What was not given to other claimants remained the property of the lord of the manor, who thus became the owner of the stretches of woodland and pasture which hitherto had been used by the villagers in common. The peasant who received a plot of a few acres found himself worse off than he was before; he had to face the expense of enclosing it with hedge or fence, and he had no place in which to graze his plough-oxen, his pigs, or his poultry. In his bewilderment he was ready to accept the first reasonable offer that was made for his small property. Offers were not lacking. Men were growing rich in the industrial towns; some of them aspired to enter Parliament or to become county magistrates. But, however wealthy they might be, they were unable to take any part in national or local government unless they owned land. Every member of Parliament who represented a county had to possess land worth £600 per annum; a member for a borough had to possess land worth £300 per annum. Every county magistrate was required to hold land worth £100 per annum. And the possession of land was of equal or greater importance socially. The wealthy, but landless, merchant or manufacturer was a nonentity and an upstart; when he acquired land he became a personage of importance and was received as a social equal by other country squires. Land, therefore, commanded a ready sale, and the peasants readily parted with their consolidated plots to these *nouveaux riches*.

The "yeomen" of England thus disappeared. Many of them drifted into the growing industrial towns and, after frittering away the money they had received from the sale of their land, became factory workers. Others, more careful, husbanded their small capital and established small factories,

and, in course of time, in their own or the succeeding generation, amassed fortunes. (It is a well-established fact that many of the early successful manufacturers came of yeoman stock.) But many others remained on the land which had supported their fathers for more than a thousand years. Of these some, perhaps most, sank into the position of wage-labourers. The more capable and energetic became tenant-farmers, renting large farms of from two to three hundred acres from the owners of the large estates which had come into existence as described above, and using their money as working capital. Three well-defined grades—the squire, the tenant-farmer and the labourer—thus developed in English rural society in the nineteenth century.

However unfortunate their immediate effects were, the establishment of enclosures and the consolidation of holdings in place of the open fields were absolutely necessary. Experiment was now possible, the fallows disappeared, and new and more extended rotation of crops came into existence. In view of the marked variations in climate and soil in different parts of the country it is obvious that no uniform plan of farming was suitable for all districts. The Norfolk course, however, became popular, and was widely adopted. Its establishment was due to Lord Townshend, the brother-in-law of Walpole, who, after his retirement from politics in 1730, devoted himself to agricultural pursuits. It was a four-year course, based on the following principles:

(1) The fallow year was eliminated.

(2) Corn crops were grown in alternate years.

(3) In the intervening years a clover crop and a root crop were produced.

In the most common form of the Norfolk course wheat, clover, barley and turnips were grown in this order. It was found that in the clover and root-crop years the fertility of the land was sufficiently restored to enable corn crops to be grown without a fallow year being resorted to, especially if the land was dressed with suitable manure. The roots (turnips, swedes and mangel-wurzels) provided winter food for cattle, thus solving a problem which had always proved difficult for the medieval cultivator. The keeping of stall-fed cattle in the winter provided the farmer with a quantity of stable-manure to throw on the land, so that the success of the four-year rotation was definitely assured.

Stockbreeding received much attention in the eighteenth century. Before this time English farm-stock had been of poor quality. Oxen were thin, bony and long-legged, and were valued for their power of draught rather than for their weight. Sheep were thin and produced a very light fleece, and all types of stock were much affected by the prevalence of infectious diseases. There was no attempt at improving stock by judicious breeding, and large numbers of animals were killed off in the autumn of every year because of the impossibility of feeding them during the winter. But during the eighteenth century the use of turnips and other roots solved the problem of winter feeding, and a number of breeders, among whom were Robert Bakewell, of Dishley, and the brothers Colling, of Durham, developed improved strains of cattle and sheep. At the end of the century prize sheep were three times, and prize oxen more than twice, as heavy as those in the time of Queen Anne. A prize ox in 1710 weighed 370 lb., another in 1795 weighed 800 lb. (In November, 1926, at the Birmingham Fat Cattle Show, an ox was exhibited which weighed over 26 cwt.!)

The invention of the drill by Jethro Tull introduced a new method of sowing. Before the eighteenth century the sower carried a tray of seed which he scattered on the ground by hand to right and left, a process which had not been changed since Biblical times. The seed was scattered unevenly, and much of it was wasted. By the drill a hole was made in the ground and one seed was dropped into it. Smaller quantities of seed were used, and better crops resulted.

Royal patronage was given to the movement for the improvement of agricultural methods. George III, affectionately known by his subjects as Farmer George, established a model farm at Windsor. Much of the success of the movement was due, too, to Arthur Young, Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, who travelled extensively in England and France. He compared methods and devices in use in different districts, and collected and disseminated information. But one of the most famous agriculturalists of the period was Thomas Coke, of Holkham, who in later life became Earl of Leicester. Succeeding as a young man to the Holkham estate he found it in a deplorable condition. It is stated that his wife was warned that upon going to Holkham she would find there only one blade of grass, and two rabbits fighting for it! By

judicious marling and manuring he converted light sandy soil into rich wheat-land. He adopted new devices, he sought information, he encouraged his tenant-farmers to use up-to-date methods. His estate became a model famous throughout Western Europe, and before his death in 1842 (he was over ninety years old) he had spent over half a million sterling upon estate improvement. All this and more came back to him through improved crops and enhanced values, and he died a very rich man.

The problem of supplying food to the increasing population of Great Britain was solved only partially by the changes described in this chapter. The increase was so rapid after 1750 that by the beginning of the nineteenth century some food had to be imported. The amount brought in was at first not large, and during the French wars the country had to rely for the most part upon its own production. Even as late as 1850 the bulk of the food required in Great Britain was grown at home, but in the second half of the nineteenth century the country became accustomed to relying upon imported food. But though the extraordinary increase in population in the industrial areas made this importation necessary, the agrarian revolution of the eighteenth century had the effect of putting English agriculture in the forefront by comparison with that of other countries. English farming, in fact, was the best in Europe, and long remained the model which the Continent tried to imitate.

CHAPTER XVII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

DURING the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century British industry underwent great changes—changes so remarkable in character and so extensive in volume that the term Industrial Revolution has been applied to them. The word "revolution" denotes a fundamental change; a political revolution is a complete change of government, a diplomatic revolution is a change in the scheme of international alliances, an agrarian revolution is a change in methods of agriculture. Similarly, an industrial revolution is a change in industrial methods and industrial organisation, and the Industrial Revolution with which this chapter deals was concerned with a change in method, from hand-work to machine-work, and in organisation, from work at home to work in factories. A revolution, however, need not be sudden nor violent; it may be gradual and even imperceptible. It is probable that most people living at this time were hardly conscious that a great industrial change was taking place, and it would be difficult to give with any degree of accuracy two dates between which it occurred. But if the condition of British industry in 1850 be contrasted with that in 1750 no doubt can be felt that the change really took place.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century Great Britain was mainly an agricultural country. Towns were few and, judged by modern standards, small, and four-fifths of the people lived in country villages and gained their living chiefly by agriculture. Most of the great manufacturing industries, cotton, wool, steel, hardware, pottery, glass, etc., which have their centres to-day in the great industrial towns had not then been started, and such manufactures as did exist were carried on in the country. The work was done in the cottages by people who were engaged also in agricultural labour, and it was done by hand, or with the help of hand-worked implements. Men who cultivate the land are not uniformly busy all the

year round. When such important agricultural operations as ploughing, sowing and reaping are being carried on the farmer and his men are fully occupied. But there are times when farm work is less pressing, and other times when, owing to inclemency of weather or failure of light (as in mid-winter), outdoor work is nearly impossible. It was usual, therefore, before the Industrial Revolution, for agriculturalists to pass their spare time in work at home. The woollen industry was carried on mainly by people who looked upon it as a by-employment which supplemented their income from the cultivation of a few acres of land, or who, in some cases, regarded their farming as supplementary to their weaving.

In this cottage textile work (as, indeed, in field-work) men, women and children were all engaged. The process of carding a tangled mass of woollen or cotton fibre was undertaken by children. The fibres thus straightened out were spun into a continuous yarn by the women, and so universally was this regarded as a feminine occupation that the term "spinster" came to be (and still is) the designation of the legal status of an unmarried woman. The old high spinning-wheel, which was rotated by hand, and of which specimens may still be seen in remote Highland cottages, had by the eighteenth century been generally replaced by the low wheel, which was operated by means of a treadle, so that the spinner had both hands free to deal with the yarn. Weaving, on a hand-loom, was done by the men. The industry was under the control of "dealers," or "clothiers," men who possessed capital and lived in a market town, from which they visited neighbouring villages in turn. With their pack-mules carrying supplies they called at cottage after cottage, giving out wool and collecting the cloth made from the material left by them on a previous visit. From his warehouse in the town the dealer would send the cloth, probably by river, to a port at the river's mouth, where it was purchased by a merchant for export. The system had many defects. The dealer found it impossible to get the work done regularly, for if a man chose to cease work and take a day's holiday he could do so, and if the piece of cloth was not ready by the day of the dealer's call the latter had no remedy. Dealers suffered, too, from the dishonesty of their workpeople, for it was impossible to determine whether the cloth which was returned to them represented the whole of the raw material which had been given out.

English trade was expanding in the eighteenth century. Merchants found abroad an ever-increasing demand for English textile goods which it was to their interest to try to meet. They pressed for more from the dealers, who in turn exhorted the workers to produce more. But under the existing system it was impossible to increase production very much. The weavers, indeed, were often idle for lack of yarn, but the spinners were always busy. A weaver working full time would use up the yarn produced by five or six spinners. Some change, therefore, was necessary in the method of spinning if production was to be increased. This necessity for improved means of spinning provided the initial impetus for the changes which were to develop into the Industrial Revolution.

In the middle of the eighteenth century much attention was devoted to the problem of devising a satisfactory means of spinning, but not until 1764 was a machine invented for this purpose. James Hargreaves, a Blackburn weaver, constructed a spinning-jenny, which was capable of turning eleven spindles at once. It produced yarn which was fine, but not very strong, and which was suitable for the "woof," or cross thread, of the web, but not for the "warp," or long thread, which ran the length of the piece. The jenny was used at first for the spinning of cotton and not of wool, and came into fairly general use by 1767. It was worked by hand and could be used in the cottages, so that while its introduction brought about increased production of yarn it involved no change of system.

In 1769 Richard Arkwright invented a spinning machine which was based on an entirely new principle, the thread being passed between a number of pairs of rollers, each pair rotating a little faster than the pair behind it. The machine could not be worked by hand, and, as water power was applied to it, it was called the water-frame. It could not be used in the cottages. It was too large to be accommodated and too expensive to be bought by the home-worker, and special buildings had to be provided for it, so that its introduction marks the beginning of the factory system. The water-frame produced a yarn that differed from jenny-yarn in that it was strong and coarse and was suitable for use as warp. In 1771 Arkwright, in conjunction with Richard Strutt, established a factory at Cromford, in Derbyshire, for the production of yarn for stockings, which were manufactured by Strutt. By 1776 Samuel Crompton had invented his mule, a machine which

combined the principles of the jenny and the water-frame, and produced a yarn both fine and strong. The weaving of muslins now became possible in England (they had hitherto been imported from India). Before long, mules were constructed that would turn hundreds of spindles. The jenny continued in use for many years, for cottage industry died out very slowly, and it was common for "factory-yarn" to be used for warp and "hand-yarn" for woof.

More yarn was now being produced than the weavers could deal with, and efforts were made to speed up the process of weaving. As early as 1733 a flying-shuttle had been invented by John Kay. The weaver operated the shuttle by pulling strings with his right and left hands alternately instead of by passing it from hand to hand, backwards and forwards. By the use of this device "broadcloth" could be woven by one man, instead of by two standing side by side, as formerly. But yarn was scarce when the flying-shuttle was introduced, and it was of little importance until after the spinning machines had been invented. In 1785 a power-loom was designed by Cartwright, but it was clumsy and inefficient and was not improved sufficiently to be brought into general use until nearly thirty years later. The series of inventions and discoveries affecting the textile industry was completed by the development of new processes of dyeing and bleaching.

It is to be observed that the textile machinery invented in the eighteenth century was applied in the first instance to cotton and not to wool, although the latter had been the more common material in the era of cottage industry. The reason for this change is to be found in the fact that the supply of raw wool was limited. While the woollen industry depended upon what was produced on British pastures the amount of raw material could not be greatly increased. Of cotton, on the other hand, an unlimited supply was received from the West Indies and, towards the end of the century, from the United States. The cotton industry forged ahead and took the premier place in British textiles. In course of time, however, sheep-farming developed in Australia and New Zealand, whence, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, large quantities of wool were sent to Great Britain. Textile machinery was adapted to deal with wool as well as cotton, and the woollen industry recovered its importance.

The early machinery was made of wood, and was very

unsatisfactory. It wore out quickly, and oil soaked into the wood and spoiled a good deal of the material. When iron machinery was introduced it was very clumsy. The parts were made by hand, and often failed to fit accurately. Even screws and nuts and bolts were made by hand and were not standardised. When an iron machine was set up in a factory there was no certainty that it would work until it was overhauled, nuts were tightened or eased, packing was introduced, and parts were filed down, and even then break-downs were common. With the invention of machine tools in the early nineteenth century it became possible to make the parts of a machine with such a degree of accuracy that they fitted together at once and there was no question of the machine being made to work.

As stated already, machines were at first driven by water power, which is fairly common in most parts of the country. The early factories were set up by the side of streams in country places, and, as no accommodation existed for the workpeople, cottages were erected for them by the factory-owners; factory villages thus came into existence. But water power proved to be unsatisfactory; sometimes there was too much of it and at other times there was too little. Nevertheless, it was widely used even as late as 1840 or 1850. The invention of the steam engine provided an alternative which possessed advantages over water as a source of power. It was under more definite control, it was capable of supplying any degree of power required, and it might be used anywhere. Newcomen in the reign of Queen Anne invented an engine which was used for the pumping of water out of mines, but it was clumsy and inefficient and consumed large quantities of fuel. James Watt, in 1782, patented an engine constructed on a new principle, which was more economical of fuel and more efficient in working. Some of the credit for its success was due to Watt's partner, Matthew Boulton, who succeeded in boring accurate cylinders. Watt's engine was applied to pumping and to the driving of machinery, but it was not brought into general use very quickly, the reason being that the construction of the engines was monopolised by the firm of Boulton and Watt, which held the patents and was able to produce only a limited number of engines every year. With the advent of the steam engine as a source of power for driving factory machinery it became convenient to establish factories in

regions where coal was found. The factory villages were abandoned, and large factory towns sprang up in such areas as Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Clyde valley.

The demand for iron for machinery and engines led to a revival of the iron-smelting industry. Until the early part of the eighteenth century charcoal had been used in the smelting of iron, and in various places there were forges to which the iron ore had been carried. The demands of the industry had brought about the destruction of large quantities of timber, and by the eighteenth century restrictions had been placed upon the use of charcoal for this purpose. The iron industry had consequently declined. By 1740 no more than a few thousand tons of iron were produced annually, and there seemed good reason to expect the industry to die out completely. Attempts were made to smelt iron with coal, but the presence of sulphur made the product too brittle. About 1730, however, Abraham Darby discovered that this disadvantage might be overcome if the coal was converted into coke before being used in smelting. For many years his process remained secret, but when it became generally known the iron industry began to revive. Ironworks were established on coal and iron fields in Wales, in the north of England, and in the Clyde valley, and energetic and capable ironmasters found many uses and an increasing demand for their product, so that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the industry was in a prosperous condition.

In the eighteenth century there was an increasing demand for coal. The process of mining was attended by many difficulties. A deep hole in the ground becomes a well into which water drains naturally, and constant pumping is necessary in order to keep the workings from flooding. The problem of pumping was solved, as stated above, by the invention of the steam engine and its use for this purpose. Explosions were common on account of the accumulation of gases in the passages of the mine, and not until the invention of the safety-lamp by Sir Humphry Davy in 1815 was even moderate protection obtained from this source of danger. Coal was carried to the surface by women and children, who with panniers suspended from their shoulders climbed ladders fixed to the sides of the pit. This primitive method prevailed as late as 1842, in which year the employment of women and children in mines was forbidden by law. Hauling by means of hempen

ropes proved impracticable, as the ropes were expensive and soon wore out, but the invention of a wire rope in 1839 made haulage a possibility. Coal was in increasing demand for the smelting of iron and for the driving of steam engines, and it came into further use in connection with the dyeing industry, since various dyes were extracted from coal-tar.

The great changes in industrial methods and industrial organisation which are included in the movement known as the Industrial Revolution had important results which will be mentioned here, though some of them will be described more fully in subsequent chapters. During the period of the change the population of the country increased to a remarkable extent, and if this was not entirely a result it was at least an accompaniment of the Industrial Revolution. The first census was taken in 1801, and accurate information as to the numbers of the people at different times is available only for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is estimated that the nation in 1700 numbered five and a half millions, and that by 1750 it had increased to six millions. From this time the growth in numbers was rapid. During the next half-century there was an increase of fifty per cent, since the census of 1801 revealed a population of nine millions. This was doubled by 1851 and doubled again by 1901. Before the Industrial Revolution most of the people lived in the country, and the most thickly populated parts of Great Britain were the counties of the south and east. The industrial changes resulted in the massing of the people in the coal and iron areas of the north and west, and three-fourths of them now live in towns of ten thousand or more inhabitants.

The new methods in industry led to a great increase in the production of all kinds of manufactured goods. This was the natural result of the introduction of machinery, for a machine is tireless, and works much more quickly than a man. A workman in charge of a machine could produce ten times or a hundred times as much as could have been turned out by him before the machine was invented. Ignorant workpeople often resented the use of machinery on the ground that, as they supposed, it caused unemployment, and riots sometimes occurred in which factories were stormed and machinery was broken up. But the real effect of machine production was to cheapen the goods; a larger demand was created, and in the end not fewer but more people were employed. Work was

found also for a new class of workpeople in the construction of machinery.

The goods thus produced in large quantities were exported to all parts of the world. Other countries were behind Great Britain in industrial development. The great inventions occurred in this country, which obtained a start of at least half a century over its industrial rivals. Markets were developed, and British goods secured a reputation in every continent which they have never lost.

Conditions of labour in the early factories were far from being satisfactory. Workers were no longer protected by the State, for the prevalence of *laissez-faire* philosophy had led to the Elizabethan Statute of Artificers falling into disuse. Nor were they able to protect themselves, for their early efforts to establish trade unions were suppressed by law. Factories were badly built, badly ventilated, insanitary and dirty. Hours of labour were long, and wages were low. Wages were not always paid entirely in money; in some cases workmen were paid in goods which were of little use to them and which they had to barter away, at a loss, for what they wanted; in other cases they were compelled to spend part of their earnings at a shop kept by their employer upon goods which they did not want. Women and children were employed in the factories; the conditions of their employment were such that in course of time Acts of Parliament were passed for their regulation and improvement.

The development of the factory system would have been impossible if means of transport had not been improved. This is a matter which will be dealt with elsewhere, but it may be observed here that while production was carried on all over the country on only a small scale goods were used in the neighbourhood in which they were produced, or, if they were to be exported, the rivers afforded a sufficient highway for their transport to the coast. But with the advent of large-scale production better means of transport were needed. The large quantities produced by a group of factories in a single town could not be disposed of in the immediate neighbourhood; they must appeal to a wider market, and the larger the quantity produced the wider must be the market. Under conditions of maximum production, indeed, the market must be the whole civilised world. But this was impossible unless adequate facilities existed for moving heavy and bulky goods

over long distances; the construction of canals and railways and the development of steamships necessarily accompanied the Industrial Revolution.

The growth of new towns had a political effect in Great Britain. Before the middle of the eighteenth century Parliament was to a reasonable degree representative of the country —not, indeed, of the common people, but of the landed interest, and land was until that time the principal form of wealth. The new industrial towns were not represented in Parliament, and the anomaly by which small decaying towns and villages sent members to the House of Commons while important centres of population were denied that privilege became year by year more evident. Wealthy merchants and manufacturers, as such, were denied admission to the House of Commons. The landed interest fought long and hard to keep the manufacturing interest from any share of political power, but the demand for parliamentary reform at length became so overwhelming that it could not be denied.

CHAPTER XVIII

ROADS AND CANALS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the roads of Great Britain were in little, if any, better condition than in the Middle Ages. Even main roads, which connected important towns, were in wet weather nearly impassable on account of mud. When, as rarely happened, repairs were undertaken, a wrong principle was followed in making the camber of the road too steep. Possibly the road-menders hoped that water would flow to the sides from a steep inclination more readily than from a slight slope, but they overlooked the fact that vehicles must necessarily keep to the crown of such a road, and that the wheels of all wagons and carriages would run on the same part of the road. Ruts were caused which steadily deepened, and mud was generated once more. Travellers found it easier to go from place to place on horseback than by carriage, while goods were conveyed on pack-horses or pack-mules more frequently than by wagon, unless, indeed, it was possible to send them by water. The navigable rivers of the country were extensively used for inland traffic.

Improvement in the condition of the roads was brought about in a characteristic eighteenth-century way. To-day, nobody would doubt that the maintenance of the roads should be the duty of a public authority; in a period in which there was general belief in the virtues of a policy of *laissez-faire* it was thought that the care of the roads might safely be left to private persons. Turnpike trusts came into existence. A wealthy man, or a group of men, received the right of controlling a stretch of road. It was put in order and maintained in a more or less satisfactory condition, and gates were erected at each end of the section. For every person and every vehicle using the road a toll had to be paid, and the money so received, over and above the cost of keeping the road in repair, became the profit of the turnpike trust. The system had at least the merit of giving the country good main roads, for the

trusts employed surveyors who made it their business to keep their roads in good condition, but by-roads and country lanes, on which there was little traffic and in which the turnpike trusts were not interested, were as bad as they had ever been. By the latter part of the eighteenth century the improvement in the main roads was such that large towns were linked up by regular coaching services.

Some advance was made in methods of road construction early in the nineteenth century. Rennie and Telford made hundreds of miles of road in Scotland, and Metcalf did much similar work in the north of England. Macadam introduced the plan of placing a surface of small pieces of granite, well rolled in, upon a hard foundation. The camber of macadamised roads was slight, so that wheeled traffic was able to spread uniformly over the surface of the road, and wear and tear was not confined to the middle. This type of road proved so successful that the method continued in use until a few years ago, and it is still employed to some extent for by-roads.

But no improvement in the road system was adequate to meet the new demand for means of transport of heavy and bulky goods occasioned by industrial development. This need was met in the earlier stages of the Industrial Revolution by the construction of canals. The earliest canal of any importance was planned and built by James Brindley, and was financed by the Duke of Bridgewater, between 1759 and 1761. It connected Manchester with the duke's colliery at Worsley, and was intended to facilitate the carriage of coal from the mine to the great city. The canal was in a sense experimental, for great engineering difficulties had to be overcome, but it was in every way successful. Coal was cheapened in Manchester, and the duke made a large fortune by its sale. The success of the Bridgewater Canal encouraged the construction of others all over the country. They were planned to connect the points at which rivers ceased to be navigable, and before the end of the century the country was covered by a network of waterways.

It is not too much to assert that without this system of canals great industrial development would have been impossible at this time. Many uses were found for the new waterways. Food was conveyed by them from the agricultural areas in the south and east to the large towns in the north and west. Raw materials were moved into the factory districts

by canal. For example, the clay used in the manufacture of china was transported to the Potteries from Cornwall. Manufactured products were sent to all parts of the country and to the ports by canal, and the problem of moving coal was solved in this way.

Laissez-faire influence prevented canal construction from being undertaken by the State. The new waterways were built by private companies, which were in some ways like the turnpike trusts. The canal company provided the waterway, but it did not undertake the carriage of goods. Any manufacturer might use the canal by putting his own loaded barge upon it, with horse and man on the towpath, if he paid the tolls charged by the company. In this respect the canal companies differed from the railway companies in the nineteenth century, which became "common carriers" and were prepared to collect, carry and deliver goods for their customers.

The canals varied much in gauge, i.e., in width and depth, in the height of the bridges, and in the size of the locks, so that it was possible to send a barge from one end of the country to the other only if it was small enough to pass through the smaller canals. The advantages of uniformity of gauge were not realised when canals were constructed, and the cost of widening and deepening them would now be prohibitive. Yet, although in the nineteenth century the importance of canals was overshadowed by that of the railways, they have never entirely lost their usefulness, for large quantities of heavy and bulky goods, for which speed of transport is not essential, are still conveyed by them.

CHAPTER XIX

PITT AS A PEACE MINISTER

THE appointment of William Pitt, second son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, to be Prime Minister in 1783 has been referred to already. He remained in office till 1801. Until 1793 the country was at peace; after that year it was at war with France. Pitt's career as Prime Minister falls naturally into two parts, and this chapter deals mainly with his policy in time of peace.

He came into office at the king's request upon the fall of the Fox-North coalition. All the other members of his Cabinet were peers, so that he alone sat in the House of Commons to defend the policy of his Government. He was only twenty-four years of age, and he had no majority behind him in the House. The opposition jeered at him, defeated him again and again, and expected his resignation almost daily. The constitutional course of action for a defeated Government is to resign or to dissolve Parliament and, if no majority is obtained in the new Parliament, to resign forthwith. Pitt refused either to resign or to dissolve Parliament. He thought that a general election at once would go against him, but that, in a few weeks or months, public opinion would change, and he would obtain a majority. He proved to be right. He held on for some time in spite of defeat, and when the election was held the Whigs lost a very large number of seats. The defeated members were referred to by the victors as "Fox's martyrs." Tories and King's Friends gave Pitt so substantial a following in the House of Commons that he was firmly established in power. That he was victorious at the general election is not a matter for surprise. The Fox-North coalition was not popular. The India Bill which had been rejected by the House of Lords through the king's influence was designed to serve the interests of neither India nor this country, but of the Whig party only. North was the

minister responsible for the humiliation of Great Britain in the American War. Pitt, on the other hand, showed unexampled political courage in the opening weeks of his ministry, and, above all, he bore a name associated with victory and national glory.

Like Lord North he was supported by George III throughout his term of office, but he was not subservient to the king as North had been. The real ruler while North was Prime Minister was the king. Pitt, and not the king, was now the director of national policy, and, although he might have yielded to the king's wishes on minor points, he would have resigned rather than give way if he differed from the king on a vital matter. This actually happened in 1801, when George III refused to agree to Catholic Emancipation, which Pitt regarded as essential in the carrying out of his Irish policy. He equalled his father in his contempt for corruption and his desire for parliamentary reform and in his dependence on popular rather than party support. Though his private means were small he refused to accept a lucrative sinecure post, the Clerkship of the Pells, which became vacant soon after his accession to office. Chatham, however, was greater than his son as a war minister, for though in the conduct of the French War Pitt was adequate to the occasion he lacked the genius by which his father brought about the triumph of Great Britain in the Seven Years War. Pitt, like Walpole, preferred peace to war, but, when war was inevitable, he, unlike Walpole, prosecuted it with energy and determination. He differed from the greatest of the Old Whigs in his readiness to propose substantial reforms. He carried on the movement towards Free Trade of which the first faint beginnings can be traced to Walpole. Pitt had read Adam Smith's remarkable book, the *Wealth of Nations*, which was published in 1776, and he was convinced by its theory, although it is probable that he, like Walpole, thought it unlikely that Free Trade would ever become an accomplished fact.

The task before Pitt was that of restoring national prosperity and national prestige after the disasters of the American War. The National Debt stood at nearly £250,000,000, a figure without precedent. National credit was low; the price of Government stock in the city of London was no more than fifty-seven. Taxation was burdensome, and smuggling was prevalent round the coasts, and year by year, before Pitt's

advent to office, the budget failed to balance. The position could be saved only by a statesman who was prepared to reconsider the whole basis of national finance. Pitt proved adequate to the task. He was inclined to distrust the whole theory of Mercantilism, which regarded the regulation of trade and the maintenance of favourable balances of trade as essential to national prosperity. With Adam Smith he realised what the Mercantilists would not admit, that volume of trade was in itself advantageous, and that an increase in trade was beneficial to both buyer and seller. Their interests, in fact, were not opposed, but were identical. To sweep away the mass of duties which restricted trade was out of the question. Had he proposed such a course Pitt certainly would not have retained the popular confidence on which he relied. The nation was not prepared for such a change for another sixty years. But Pitt made many substantial reductions in indirect taxation, and simplified the collection of customs duties by an extension of the system of bonded warehouses. To increase the revenue he devised the "assessed taxes," which were direct taxes on servants, on race-horses, on windows—they were paid by well-to-do people who could afford luxuries. The tax on windows could not be defended on modern principles, since the admission of sunlight to a house is now regarded as essential to the maintenance of health, and such an impost would be a tax on health. But houses with six windows or less were exempt, and the tax had at least the merit of being roughly proportional to the wealth of the people who paid it.

Pitt established a sinking fund for the extinction of the National Debt. The sum of one million pounds was to be set aside annually and invested by commissioners and was to be allowed to increase by compound interest until the total was equal to that of the debt, which was then to be paid off. It was estimated that if the scheme continued without interruption this result would be achieved in twenty-eight years. There seems to be some doubt about the accuracy of the calculation, and the writer has been informed by a mathematical friend that, assuming interest to be earned at five per cent, the required total would not be reached until the fifty-second year. The matter is not of great importance, however, in view of the outbreak of the French War and the consequent increase in the debt. The scheme was to be

commended, as indicating a determination to pay off the debt, but it was financially sound only if the money was to be raised by taxation and without fresh borrowing. If loans had to be resorted to, either in peace or war, the debt would be increased as fast as the fund.

Pitt made two serious attempts to benefit British trade by the conclusion of commercial treaties. The first was in 1785, with Ireland, which at this time had a Parliament independent of that of Great Britain. A preliminary agreement was reached, but British merchants became alarmed at the proposals and insisted on their modification. They now became unacceptable to the Irish, and the arrangement was dropped. In 1786, however, a commercial treaty was concluded with France. British cotton goods, cutlery and iron goods were to be admitted into France at reduced rates of duty, and a similar concession was made in this country on French wines, brandy and olive oil. The treaty worked well until 1793, when the outbreak of war caused open trade between the two countries to cease. During the six or seven years of its duration there was so large an increase in the volume of trade between France and Great Britain that under other circumstances an extension of the agreement would certainly have been made.

Pitt had no liking for and no faith in the system of political corruption which characterised the eighteenth century, the system by which at first the Whigs and afterwards the king secured power. In 1785 he proposed that thirty-six rotten boroughs should be disfranchised and that the seventy-two seats thus released should be given to large towns which had sprung up and which were unrepresented in the House of Commons. To the "patrons" of these boroughs he proposed to award compensation out of public funds, setting aside the sum of one million pounds for this purpose. The proposal was defeated, and Pitt did not renew it. After the beginning of the French Revolution his policy was to prevent it from spreading to this country, and he thought the time unsuitable for a reform which might be the prelude to revolution. The movement for the abolition of the slave trade received Pitt's approval, though it did not meet with success until after his death.

The interests of the British Empire did not suffer at Pitt's hands. In 1784 he carried through Parliament an India Act

under which that country was ruled for three-quarters of a century. A Board of Control was established in London, and the freedom and independence of the East India Company were restricted to commercial affairs. In all matters of government the Company was merely the mouthpiece of the Board of Control. In 1788 the first Australian settlement was begun, and in 1791 a Canada Act was passed which recognised the existence of Upper and Lower Canada and gave each of them a Legislative Assembly and a system of government which remained unchanged for half a century.

Pitt was responsible for a modification of the foreign policy which had been followed since George III became king. Since the breach with Frederick the Great, towards the close of the Seven Years War, Great Britain had been, in peace and war, without allies. In 1788 a Triple Alliance between Great Britain, Prussia and Holland was formed, and British isolation was ended. The outbreak of the French Revolution, however, and the wars which followed, led to various regroupings of the powers of Europe.

Pitt was opposed in Parliament by the Whig group led by Fox, Burke and Sheridan, who were the social and political friends of George, Prince of Wales. In 1788 the king fell ill. His first attack of insanity appeared, and the question of a regency arose. It was clear that no other regent but the Prince of Wales could be appointed, and it seemed probable that his first act as regent would be the dismissal of Pitt and the appointment of Fox as Prime Minister. Difficulties arose, however, as to the method of making the appointment of the prince as regent. Pitt held the view that it could come only from Parliament—not from Lords only or from Commons only or from Lords and Commons together, but from Parliament, which included King, Lords and Commons. An Act of Parliament appointing a regent required the king's consent, which he was unfit to give. Fox put forward the extraordinary doctrine that the Prince of Wales, as heir to the throne, possessed an inherent right to assume the regency. On that occasion the problem was solved, or, rather, was left unsolved, by the king's recovery. But it is noteworthy that, a century after the Revolution, a Tory Prime Minister contended for the supremacy of Parliament, while a Whig politician expounded a principle analogous to the Divine Right of Kings.

Pitt's policy in the conduct of the war with France will be

described elsewhere. His activity in this direction did not prevent him from attempting a settlement of the Irish question. In 1800 he proposed and carried a Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and intended that the union should be immediately followed by the removal of legal restrictions on Roman Catholics. But George III refused to agree to this, regarding assent to the proposal as a violation of his coronation oath. The old king was vehement in his opposition, and when Pitt realised that his persistence might bring about a renewal of the king's insanity he dropped the proposal, and in 1801 resigned the office he had held for eighteen years.

The renewal of the French War in 1804 led to a popular demand for his return to office, and in the national crisis he held it to be his duty to come back without insisting upon Catholic Emancipation. He lived long enough to learn of the British naval triumph at Trafalgar, but the French military victory at Austerlitz filled him with despair. His health, which had long been unsatisfactory, gave way, and he died in 1806, at the age of forty-six. During nearly half of his short life he had been Prime Minister.

It remains to consider in what lay the greatness of Pitt. As the minister responsible for the conduct of the war against France he was adequate rather than great. His financial policy while the country was at peace was sound; in time of war it was, as will be shown, open to serious criticism. As a reformer he made certain proposals and was sympathetic towards others; yet few of these reforms materialised in his time. He was no apostle of reform, ready to cast all other interests aside in order to achieve his purpose, and he appeared to do little more than put forward suggestions for the nation to accept or reject as it chose. And if his resignation upon the king's refusal to concur in Catholic Emancipation may seem to be inconsistent with this view it may be pointed out that he resigned because he thought his honour to be involved. Yet Pitt was undeniably a great man. His greatness lay in his character and his ideals. He was a man with a high conception of honour and, like his father, with utter contempt for the corruption of the times. He was an idealist, and he was a practical man. He knew and he proposed the better way, and he knew how far it was possible to go towards it. He knew that Free Trade was desirable, and that in his time only slight steps could be taken towards it. He knew that slavery was

wrong and ought to be abolished, and that the first step must be the abolition of the slave trade. In his advocacy of Free Trade, the abolition of slavery, Catholic Emancipation, and parliamentary reform Pitt was in advance of the nation, which followed his lead in these matters long after his death. In that lies the evidence of his greatness.

CHAPTER XX

IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In 1689 the Roman Catholic Irish, under the leadership of James II, made a determined effort to throw off the domination of the English and Protestant minority in Ireland. By the end of 1691 they were completely conquered. Protestant ascendancy was re-established, and in the course of the next few years a code of laws of extreme harshness was passed against the Papists.

In every way life in Ireland was made humiliating and almost intolerable for the Roman Catholics. A person of that religion could not purchase land nor hold it on long lease (though he might hold it by inheritance). The estate of a Roman Catholic landowner was at his death divided among his sons, a practice which tended to the break-up of large estates. (Succession by primogeniture, permitted among Protestants, enabled estates to be maintained intact.) If, however, one of the sons of a Roman Catholic landowner turned Protestant he was entitled to succeed to the whole of the family estate, to the exclusion of his brothers, and he could even obtain control of it during his father's lifetime. Roman Catholics might not intermarry with Protestants; the priest who celebrated a mixed marriage was liable to be hanged. A Roman Catholic might not send his children abroad for education, and, since in Ireland all tutors and schoolmasters had to be licensed by a bishop of the Church of Ireland in order that no Papist might teach, Roman Catholic children had to receive instruction from Protestants or be left uneducated. No Papist might become a barrister, nor might he hold the king's commission in the army. He might not sit in the Irish Parliament and might not even vote at its elections, infrequent and corrupt though they were. He might not wear a sword, the badge of a gentleman, and any Protestant might purchase his horse for the sum of five pounds, duly offered; a Papist, therefore, was debarred from retaining a horse worth more than five pounds.

The Protestants in Ireland maintained their ascendancy by means of this severe code, and the treatment accorded by them to the Papists for the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century amounted to a religious persecution for which it is not easy to find any justification. In 1689, however, during the short period of Roman Catholic ascendancy in Ireland, the Parliament called by James II established no "Penal Code" against the Protestants, but passed an Act of Attainder sentencing two thousand three hundred of them to death. This Act would certainly have been carried into effect if the towns of Derry and Enniskillen had fallen into Roman Catholic hands. When the Protestants regained the upper hand they did not pass an Act of Attainder against their opponents, and their establishment of the Penal Code was no mere act of savage vengeance. It was as a measure of self-protection that the minority took these steps to keep the majority in permanent subjection, for, if the Papists had gained the upper hand, the lives of the Protestants would not have been safe. It is probable, however, that the more humiliating of these laws, such as the prohibition of wearing swords, were not strictly enforced.

The Irish, Catholic and Protestant alike, had other grievances than those arising from the existence of the Penal Code. Ireland was not treated as part of Great Britain for the purposes of the Navigation Acts, and Irish industry and commerce were controlled and limited in such a way as to ensure that they should not injure the economic development of Great Britain. Ireland was a pastoral country; yet the Irish had no adequate market for their produce, which they were debarred from sending to England lest English farmers should suffer from their competition. Irish wool might not be exported to Europe or to the colonies lest a woollen industry should develop on the continent or in North America which might compete with that of Great Britain. The Irish linen industry had been permitted to expand in the seventeenth century, since there was no English linen industry with which it might compete; restrictions were placed on it after 1707 in the interests of the linen industry in Scotland.

In consequence of the plantations of Tudor and Stuart times much Irish land was owned by Englishmen. Most of the Irish peasants were tenants of absentee landlords and were called upon to pay an excessive rent for the privilege of cultivating a few acres of land. They lived in a state of extreme

poverty. In England the yeoman who could not make a living on the land could go into a town and work in a factory, but the Irishman had no other occupation to which to turn, for machinery and factories had not then been introduced into Ireland.

The Government of Ireland was subject in every essential respect to that of Great Britain. The Irish Parliament met only in alternate years, and had little power. By Poynings' Law (1494) it was unable to pass any act which had not already received the assent of the king, and in the eighteenth century this meant that the approval of the English ministry was needed for any legislation to be proposed in Dublin. Further, by an Act of the British Parliament passed in the reign of George I, the Parliament at Westminster was empowered to legislate for Ireland. The making of Irish law, therefore, was completely under the control of the British Government. The Irish Parliament itself was corrupt, and it is said that two-thirds of its members represented rotten and pocket boroughs. It was, consequently, under the domination of the great landlords of Ireland, many of whom were resident in England. It was subject to no Septennial Act, and many years might and did elapse between general elections. The Parliament elected in 1727 lasted throughout George II's reign, a period of thirty-three years. Early in George III's reign, however, an Octennial Act was passed, which limited the duration of Parliament to a term of eight years.

Irish government was in the hands of English officials. At its head was the Lord-Lieutenant, who spent most of his time in Great Britain and visited Ireland for a few weeks every alternate year, when the Irish Parliament was sitting. In his absence the Government was carried on by Lords Justices. The Government offices were in Dublin Castle, which was viewed with hatred by the Irish as the headquarters of alien rule. Corruption was prevalent, and posts in Church and State were filled by the appointment of friends of the ruling class.

In the first half of the eighteenth century Ireland had no history beyond a record of spasmodic and ineffective attempts to oppose the Government in the Irish Parliament, and of occasional outbreaks of disorder. But the Anglo-American struggle in the reign of George III afforded the Irish both an example and an opportunity. Irish volunteers took up arms, and, although the purpose of this movement was to defend

the country from French attack rather than to defy the British Government, it was evidently impossible henceforth for the latter to disregard the grievances of an armed nation. Irish merchants, in imitation of the Americans, entered into non-importation agreements, and the Irish Parliament declared Irish trade to be no longer subject to British restrictions. In 1778 the British Parliament yielded to Irish demands and included Ireland within the Navigation Acts. At the same time the worst features of the Penal Code were repealed.

The leader of the Irish patriotic party at this time was Henry Grattan, a great orator, who, although a Protestant, favoured the abolition of the Penal Code on the ground that "the Irish Protestant could never be free until the Irish Catholic had ceased to be a slave." In 1782 he induced the Irish Parliament to declare itself independent of British control. In view of British difficulties abroad at the moment, the Parliament at Westminster acquiesced by repealing Poynings' Law and the Act of George I under which the Irish Parliament had hitherto been kept subordinate.

The legal position after 1782 was that Ireland was in a state of equality with Great Britain, and was subject only to the Crown, as Scotland had been before 1707. This, however, was far from being an exact description of the actual position, since the Dublin Castle system of government remained, and the officials of the Irish Government were still appointed from London. Further, the prevalent corruption enabled the magnates to control Irish affairs in much the same way as before the Irish Parliament achieved its independence.

Although the worst Roman Catholic grievances had been removed before 1782, the relations between Catholics and Protestants still remained the dominant political question in Ireland. The Roman Catholics were still excluded from all share of political power, although they obtained the vote in 1793, and the Protestants were determined to maintain the exclusion, fearing that if Catholics were permitted to enter Parliament they would speedily be in a majority and would pass a code of laws against their opponents. It was felt that, while it might be unjust to keep Roman Catholics in permanent subjection, it was unsafe to emancipate them. Meanwhile, the condition of the Irish peasantry remained unchanged; they were still rack-rented for the benefit of English absentee landlords.

In 1791 a Society of United Irishmen was formed. Its leader, Wolfe Tone, hoped to unite in it his countrymen of every creed and class in order to secure, immediately, parliamentary reform and Catholic Emancipation, and, ultimately, complete separation from Great Britain and the establishment of an Irish republic. The United Irishmen were inspired by the example of the French, and the movement spread to every part of the land. But the hatred of Catholics and Protestants for each other was too deeply rooted for the two groups to work together for any object, however desirable. A French attempt, in 1796, to invade Ireland failed, and was followed by a series of brutal outrages committed by Government troops upon the Catholic peasantry. When, in 1798, the revolt which the United Irishmen had been planning broke out it became a Catholic uprising against Protestant domination similar to the disturbances in the seventeenth century. While the rebels held the upper hand Protestants were ruthlessly slaughtered, but the revolt collapsed after the defeat of the Catholic Irish by General Lake at Vinegar Hill. Vengeance was taken upon the rebels by the Government troops, and the hatred of Roman Catholics and Protestants for each other continued unabated. Wolfe Tone, who had inspired the movement, was captured, and evaded the penalty of death by committing suicide in prison.

Pitt realised that the Irish question would never be settled without the grant of full political rights to the Roman Catholics, and that such a concession, under existing conditions, would be full of peril for the Protestant minority. He proposed to solve the problem by uniting the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland and granting Catholic Emancipation immediately afterwards. In this way political justice might be done to the Roman Catholic Irish without endangering the lives of their Protestant fellow-countrymen, for although Irish Catholic members would be in a majority in a separate Irish Parliament at Dublin they would be a mere handful in the Parliament of the United Kingdom at Westminster. The scheme for the union was carried through the Irish Parliament by the employment of bribery on the most extensive scale. Pitt, while he despised such measures, knew that only in this way could his object be attained. The Act of Union was carried through both Parliaments in 1800.

By the terms of the union Great Britain and Ireland were

to form one country, with one king and Parliament, one army and one flag. Twenty-eight Irish peers, elected for life by their fellow-peers, were to sit in the House of Lords, which was also to contain one archbishop and three bishops of the Irish Church, sitting in annual rotation. In the House of Commons Ireland was to be represented by one hundred members. Free Trade was to be established between the two islands, and Ireland was to be included in such benefits as were to be obtained from the working of the Navigation Acts. Ireland was to contribute two-seventeenths, and Great Britain fifteen-seventeenths, of the total revenue of the United Kingdom, and if at any time the debts of the two countries should stand in the ratio of 2 : 15 they were to be amalgamated. Irish peers who had no seats in the House of Lords were to be permitted to seek election to the House of Commons for constituencies in Great Britain.

Pitt then brought forward a proposal to relieve Roman Catholics of all political disabilities, but found himself opposed by some members of his cabinet and by the king, who declared that he could not consent to Catholic Emancipation without violating his coronation oath. No argument that Pitt could advance could induce the king to change his views, and the excitement engendered in the discussion of the matter threatened to revive his insanity. Pitt, therefore, resigned office.

The union began under the worst possible conditions. Not merely did Roman Catholic disabilities remain, but the Dublin Castle system of government was permitted to continue, and nothing was done to improve the hard lot of the Irish peasant. The establishment of Free Trade proved to be to the disadvantage of the Irish, since English manufacturers were enabled to send their goods to Ireland and so prevent the Irish from developing their own industries. Above all, from the outset the Irish were dissatisfied with the union. They were convinced that the British had acted in bad faith in bringing it about, and before many years had elapsed they began an agitation for its repeal.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

MANY causes combined to bring about a great uprising of the French people in the year 1789. The peasants, except a few in the east and north-east of France, were no longer serfs, but they lived in a state of extreme poverty, they bore the whole weight of national taxation, and they suffered much at the hands of the upper classes. The nobles were much more numerous in France than in England, and included men who in this country would be regarded merely as country squires. They were exempt from most of the taxation, from compulsory military service, and from forced labour on the roads, all of which were burdens borne only by the peasants. They possessed privileges which were denied to the lower orders. They alone were permitted to hunt and to fish, they levied tolls on the roads and in the market-places, and they were permitted to try the peasants who lived on their estates. The peasants were compelled to grind their corn at the lord's mill, to press their grapes in his wine-press, and to bake their bread in his oven, and they had to pay him dues whenever mill or wine-press or oven was used. In Great Britain the country gentlemen had no such privileges; moreover, they lived on their estates for at least a large part of the year, they knew the folk who lived near them, and they were generally well disposed towards them, so that kindly relations existed between rich and poor throughout the countryside. In France, on the other hand, the nobles were harsh and overbearing, and jealous of the maintenance of their privileges; many of them lived at court instead of on their estates, the management of which was left to their bailiffs, and, while the lord despised the peasant, the peasant hated the lord.

In many respects the government of France had been going from bad to worse during the eighteenth century. France had been engaged upon a series of great wars, and she staggered under the burden of a huge national debt. No statesman of

the type of Walpole had been found to put French finance in order and increase prosperity by developing trade, and no effort was made to curb the extravagance of the Government and the court. Taxation was heavy, and was collected under the worst possible system. The Government did not itself gather the taxes, but levied them and sold the right of collection to financiers, called farmers; these men naturally extorted more than they had paid for the privilege, and, as they worked through agents and sub-agents whose operations were carried on upon the same principle, the unfortunate peasants paid far more than was received by the Government.

In the eighteenth century, France possessed no parliament to voice the needs of the nation. There were, indeed, at Paris and in certain provincial towns, bodies called Parlements, but they were courts of justice, and were in no way similar to the British Parliament. In earlier times a legislative body called the States-General had met from time to time, but it had not been called together since 1614. (It may be noted that in Tudor and early Stuart times the English Parliament was summoned only occasionally, and if Charles I and his successors had been able to meet their financial obligations without its assistance Parliament would probably have ceased to meet after 1629, and the subsequent course of English history might have been similar to that of France.)

The strong contrast which existed between English and French institutions did not escape the notice of French philosophers and writers. Montesquieu, who lived in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, lived for some time in England, and on his return to France expounded to his countrymen the superiority of the British constitution. In the middle of the century an *Encyclopædia* was published, which was supposed to contain a complete account of human knowledge at the time, and in its political articles it was unsparingly critical of French institutions. Voltaire, a brilliant satirist, taught the supremacy of human reason, and condemned everything which did not stand the test of reason. Rousseau advocated a return to nature, and he wrote against everything which was contrary to nature. "Is it reasonable?" "Is it natural?" These were the questions asked by the disciples of Voltaire and Rousseau, and there were few features of eighteenth-century French life which did not stand condemned by the test.

The lesson of American independence was not lost upon

the French. French volunteers had fought in America itself, and the example of a people struggling against tyranny of so slight a character was not without effect upon their allies. The Irish, too, who had for a century been suffering under restrictions far more irksome than any which had been applied to the Americans, secured a large measure of relief between 1779 and 1782, and again the example was not lost upon the French.

Yet things had been bad for a long time and might have gone on for some time longer had not a crisis been reached. By 1787 the financial position of the French Government was desperate. The treasury was empty, taxation could be increased no more, loans could no longer be raised—France, in fact, was bankrupt. Only one remedy appeared to be possible—that the nobles, who hitherto had been exempt from the bulk of taxation, should surrender their privilege and shoulder part of the national burden. But the nobles were unwilling to do this, and Louis XVI decided to summon the States-General.

This body, which had not met for a century and three-quarters, assembled at Versailles in May, 1789. It contained delegates representative of the nobles, the clergy and the common people (the third estate). It certainly did not meet with the intention of overthrowing the Government of France and destroying the monarchy and nobility, but it expected to be called upon to sanction reforms which would enable the government to be carried on more smoothly and satisfactorily and which would restore order in the finances. If the Government had been prepared to present to the States-General a scheme of reform there is little doubt that that body would have discussed it, perhaps modified it, and then adopted it. But the Government was not ready; it gave no lead to the States-General, and the first two months were spent in discussing whether the three orders of nobles, clergy and third estate should sit separately or together. Through the determination of the third estate the other two orders were compelled to give way, and by the end of June the States-General had decided to sit as one body and had begun to call itself the National Assembly. The first step towards revolution had been taken.

Meanwhile the Paris mob was active. The city was crowded with refugees from the nearer provinces, where, owing to the

failure of the harvest of 1788, famine threatened. The streets were filled with thousands of poverty-stricken people who were hoping for much from the Assembly. They soon became impatient of its debates and were ready to take independent action against the Government. The Bastille, a great prison in Paris, was popularly supposed to be filled with State prisoners, and, on 14th July, 1789, the mob attacked it and, despite the resistance of the guard, captured it. Only about half a dozen prisoners were found within it, but the taking of the Bastille was felt to be symbolical of the overthrow of the *ancien régime*, the old system of government in France.

The Assembly at Versailles continued its debates, and on one memorable day, 4th August, 1789, it decided upon the abolition of all traces of serfdom and of all noble privileges. But the mob in Paris was still starving, and it was commonly supposed that food was plentiful in Versailles, where the Court was in residence. Early in October a crowd of women marched from Paris to Versailles, where they swarmed into the palace and forced the king and queen to accompany them to Paris. The National Assembly also moved to Paris, and for the next year or two was occupied in making reforms and drawing up a new constitution for France. The old provinces of the kingdom were replaced by departments and these were subdivided into communes. This new system of local government survived all subsequent revolutionary changes and exists in France at the present day. To meet pressing financial needs the Assembly confiscated the property of the Church and ordered it to be sold. Salaries of bishops and priests were fixed and were to be paid in future by the State. Paper money was printed, and was issued in such excessive quantities that in course of time it became practically valueless. Much of the work of the Assembly was done in public, since outsiders were admitted to its meetings, and its decisions were influenced by the clamour of the mob.

The new constitution, besides providing for regular meetings of the Assembly, severely limited the royal power. In 1791 the king and queen tried to escape from Paris, and actually succeeded in reaching to within a short distance of the frontier of France before they were overtaken and brought back forcibly to the capital. A new Assembly was elected in 1791, and in the following year war broke out with Austria and Prussia. The enemy gained some initial successes, and for a short time

panic prevailed in Paris. In August the king was suspended from his office and, after the election and meeting of the Convention in September, was deposed, and a republic was proclaimed.

The extreme revolutionary party, the Jacobins, who were supported by the mob, secured control of the Convention, and in November, 1792, an Edict of Fraternity was issued, calling upon the oppressed peoples of other lands to rise against their rulers and assuring them of French support if they did so. Such a challenge was likely to involve France in war with most of her neighbours, and it was this, in fact, at which the Jacobins were aiming. In the general excitement the king was brought to trial in the Convention. Unlike Charles I in 1649, Louis attempted to defend himself, but in spite of this he was condemned to death, though by a majority of only one. Louis XVI was a simple, well-meaning king who certainly was not responsible for the evil plight of France in his time, but he was made to suffer for the sins of his predecessors, who by their wars and their misgovernment had brought about the evils which had now come to a head in the Revolution.

The death of the king was followed in 1793 and 1794 by the Reign of Terror, in the course of which members of the nobility were hurried off to execution after trials in which there was no possibility of acquittal. Such of the nobles as were able to do so fled across the border into the Empire, or crossed the Channel into England. In October, 1793, the queen, Marie Antoinette, was taken from prison, in which she had been treated with every form of insult, to suffer death by means of the guillotine. During the Terror several revolutionary leaders — Marat, Danton, Robespierre — were in succession at the head of affairs, but each of them in turn was destined to suffer death. Committees of Public Safety and Revolutionary Tribunals reduced even the Convention itself to a position of secondary importance. Meanwhile, the practice of the Christian religion was forbidden, and in its stead the worship of Reason was established.

But the orgy of bloodshed died down, and the Terror gave place to reaction. Whatever justification might have existed for it while the country was in danger and the aristocrats were suspected of being in league with its enemies had long ceased. In 1795 the Convention was dissolved and a new constitution

was formulated, by which France was to be governed by five Directors. The protest of the Paris mob was silenced with a "whiff of grape-shot" by an officer of artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte. The Revolution was at an end.

The Directory, though it proved to be inefficient, lasted for four years, but the real power in France was steadily being secured by brilliant generals who were winning victories in war. In 1799 the Directory was replaced by a Consulate. The government was to be in the hands of three consuls, of whom the first, Napoleon Bonaparte, was much more powerful than the other two. The First Consul was, in fact though not in name, a monarch, and five years later Bonaparte assumed the title of "Emperor of the French."

The course of the French Revolution was followed with the greatest interest in this country. For a time much sympathy was felt with the French. They were regarded as a downtrodden people who were struggling for liberty, and it was hoped, and, indeed, expected, that the deliberations of the National Assembly would result in the evolving of a French constitution on the model of that of Great Britain. Pitt, who not long previously had concluded a commercial treaty with France, hoped for this issue from the turmoil, and for some time saw no reason why events in France should disturb the friendly relations existing between the two countries.

But, as the movement grew more violent and extreme, British opinion became less favourable. The more extreme Whigs, under the leadership of Fox, who had already expressed unbounded gratification at what had happened, continued to approve of the Revolution, but the nation as a whole turned with indignation and disgust from the increasing violence of the movement, and especially from the bloodshed of the Terror. Burke, who was supported by another section of the Whigs, condemned the Revolution in his two books, *Reflections on the French Revolution* and *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*. In these two works the great philosopher contended that liberty could not be secured by violence, but that it was a product of evolution and development. He criticised the French on account of their seizure of the property of Church and nobles, and argued that instability of the rights of property would lead to the decay of trade and industry, of learning and the arts. There is much in Burke's criticism of the Revolution that is itself open to question, but he proved to

be strikingly accurate when he prophesied that order would be restored in France only by the establishment of a military despotism. Tom Paine, in his *Rights of Man*, and James Mackintosh, in *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, attempted to move British opinion in favour of the Revolution, but Burke's views prevailed in this country.

Condemnation of the Revolution was accompanied by fear of the spread of revolutionary principles to Great Britain. Pitt, who in the first ten years of his ministry had been liberal-minded and inclined to reform, came round to Burke's views, and took strong measures to counteract revolutionary tendencies. Clubs and societies whose aims were suspect were put down firmly. Seditious writings were made punishable, and it was made a treasonable practice to utter words against the king's authority and, under certain circumstances, to communicate with the French. Measures were taken against undesirable aliens, and, by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1794, the Government was enabled to imprison suspected persons for an indefinite period without trial. Public meetings without licence were forbidden, and in 1799 workmen were forbidden to form trade unions, which, although established to improve their conditions of labour, might possibly become revolutionary in character. These and similar measures were continued throughout the period of the French wars. With the return of peace they were gradually dropped, but the fear of revolution lasted long. Many men who favoured reforms on their merits feared that the introduction of reform would be the prelude to revolution, and that revolution would necessarily be accompanied by bloodshed and followed by war. For this reason all attempts at reform met with opposition. Yet reform was bound to come. The first parliamentary Reform Act was passed in 1832, and many social and industrial reforms followed during the next twenty years. The success of these measures and the absence of any revolutionary sequel to them at length convinced British statesmen that the best possible barrier against revolution was a reasonable degree of reform.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR

EARLY in 1793 Great Britain became involved in war with the newly formed French republic. This was in no way the fault of Pitt, who strove as long as possible to avoid war and, in 1792, in a speech in the House of Commons, declared that he was looking forward to fifteen years of peace. Only if peace continued could he carry on his policy of developing trade by means of commercial treaties; only peace would enable him to extinguish the National Debt by means of his sinking fund; only peace would permit of the achievement of the reforms which he advocated. But circumstances were too strong for him.

In 1792 Prussia and Austria began the conflict which, with brief intermissions, convulsed Europe for twenty-three years. The Emperor and the King of Prussia sympathised with the plight of the French royal family and invaded France with a view to affording them assistance. They hoped, no doubt, to put the Revolution down and to prevent it from spreading to their own dominions. But although their armies met with some opening successes they were defeated at Valmy and were driven out of France before the end of the year. Pitt at this time saw no reason to intervene in the war, but the French followed up their victory by invading the Austrian Netherlands. By the Peace of Utrecht Great Britain had undertaken to assist the Dutch if French attacks were made in this direction, so that British participation in the war was brought appreciably nearer by the French successes. Further, the French declared the lower part of the Scheldt to be open for navigation, and if this were allowed to pass unchallenged they would be able to make Antwerp a naval base against Great Britain. (The Scheldt runs mainly through Belgium, but the last few miles of its course are in Holland. For this reason Antwerp, which is in Belgium, cannot be used by

Belgium, or by any power which is in possession of Belgian territory, as a naval port. The effect of the French declaration was to violate Dutch neutrality and open Antwerp to the sea.) The Edict of Fraternity, too, was resented by Great Britain as well as by other European powers, and the execution of Louis XVI stirred British public opinion against the revolutionaries.

Before long France was at war with five important European states, the Empire, Prussia, Holland, Spain and Great Britain. These enemies of the French republic formed the First Coalition, the continental members of which were supplied by Pitt with liberal grants of money in order that they might the more effectively fight against the common enemy. But within a few years France had achieved a remarkable degree of success. The conquest of the Austrian Netherlands was followed by that of Holland, which was formed into the Batavian republic, in alliance with France. Prussia and Spain were glad to make peace, and the latter entered the war on the side of France. By 1796 only Austria and Great Britain remained at war with the republic, and in that year Napoleon Bonaparte, in a brilliant campaign, drove the Austrians out of northern Italy. They were forced, in 1797, to accept the humiliating peace of Campo Formio, by which their Italian territory was left at the disposal of the victors.

Meanwhile, Pitt had organised occasional raids on the coast of France by French noble exiles, but little damage was done to the enemy in this way. A naval battle off Ushant, fought on the first of June, 1794, and known as the Glorious First of June, resulted in the defeat of a French fleet which was convoying corn-ships from America to France, but, as the merchant vessels escaped into port while the battle was proceeding, the French could claim that honours were at least even. Further naval achievements included the capture of certain French West Indian islands and of the Cape of Good Hope, a Dutch settlement.

By 1797 Great Britain was alone in the war against France, which now possessed valuable allies in Holland and Spain—valuable because each of them possessed a fleet. An invasion of England was planned, and it was believed that the united navies of France, Spain and Holland would be strong enough to overcome the British fleet and make possible the landing of an army in this country. The three fleets, however, had not

yet effected a junction, and it was the object of British naval strategy to defeat them separately.

It was at this critical time that disaffection in the navy came to a head, and both at Spithead and at the mouth of the Thames the sailors mutinied. Many of them had been pressed into the service, in which conditions of extreme hardship and brutality prevailed. Life in the cramped quarters of an eighteenth-century ship could not have been other than uncomfortable, and food was necessarily of poor quality, but, in addition, pay was small and discipline was maintained by methods of ferocious severity. The grievances of the men were expressed in mutiny at the moment when their services were of vital importance to the nation. Fortunately, neither outbreak was of long duration. At Spithead the men returned to duty after Lord Howe had promised to attend to their complaints, while at the Nore the ringleaders were hanged and the mutiny was suppressed.

Shortly before these outbreaks occurred the Spanish were defeated at the Battle of St. Vincent by Jervis, who generously admitted that much of the credit for the victory was due to Nelson, his second-in-command. Later in the year the Dutch fleet was defeated by Sir Adam Duncan off Camperdown, and the immediate danger of invasion was past.

Bonaparte had obtained a great reputation in France on account of his successes in Italy, and in 1798 he planned a fresh campaign. With a fleet and an army he sailed from Toulon, and, after capturing Malta from the Knights of St. John, reached Egypt, then a province of the Turkish Empire. It is probable that he intended to conquer Egypt and to continue his course to India. In this way he would be able to deal a tremendous blow at British prestige and British trade, which would go far towards compelling Great Britain to come to terms. Although, since the loss of Minorca, there had been no British naval base east of Gibraltar, a British fleet, with Nelson in command, had been watching Toulon. Nelson was unable to prevent Bonaparte's departure and had no certain knowledge of his plans, but he sailed to the East and reached Alexandria before the French. Failing to find them there, he cruised about the Levant for a month in search of the enemy. Upon returning to Alexandria he discovered the French fleet at anchor, and, in the Battle of the Nile, destroyed it. Bonaparte, who had won some victories in

Egypt, was thus cut off from France, and decided to re-establish his communications by marching through Syria and Asia Minor to Europe, but Acre was so strongly held by the British under Sir Sidney Smith that he was compelled to return to Egypt. It being impossible for Bonaparte to transport his army back to France, he left it in the East and returned alone in a small vessel. In spite of his lack of success he was able, upon his arrival in France, to overthrow the Directory and make himself First Consul, in November, 1799. The French were unable to retain Malta after the destruction of their fleet, and it was captured by the British early in 1800.

The renewal of French activity in 1798 had enabled Pitt to form a Second Coalition consisting, in addition to Great Britain, of Russia, Austria and Turkey, and during Bonaparte's absence in the East victories were gained over the French in Germany, Switzerland and Italy by Russian and Austrian armies. Bonaparte, however, took the field after his appointment as First Consul and defeated the Austrians at Marengo in 1800. Russia withdrew from the war, and in 1801, at Lunéville, Austria made a second humiliating peace. Again Great Britain was left practically alone to fight the French.

The question of the right of searching merchant vessels, which had given rise to the Armed Neutrality in 1780, came to the front again, and in 1801 the Tsar organised a league, consisting of Sweden, Prussia, Denmark and Russia, to resist British action in overhauling neutral traders. Of the powers in the league, which was really a revival of the Armed Neutrality, the only one to possess an effective fleet was Denmark. In 1801 a squadron under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second-in-command, sailed to the Baltic, and, at the Battle of Copenhagen, defeated the Danes and captured or destroyed their ships. Shortly afterwards a new Tsar, Alexander I, came to terms with Great Britain on the question at issue, and the Armed Neutrality came to an end.

Both Great Britain and France were weary of a war in which there seemed to be no prospect of a decisive victory being obtained by either side. Great Britain was definitely successful at sea; Bonaparte was triumphant on land. Pitt was no longer in office, and his successor, Addington, yielded to the popular demand for peace. Bonaparte, also, was willing to come to terms. By the Treaty of Amiens Great Britain engaged to

restore to France the captured West Indian islands, and to the Batavian republic the Cape of Good Hope, but she retained Trinidad, captured from Spain, and Ceylon, taken from the Dutch. Malta was to be restored by Great Britain to the Knights of St. John, and the French undertook to withdraw from the Papal States. British and French troops were to leave Egypt, which was to be restored to the Turkish Empire. An interesting, though minor, provision of the treaty was that the title, "King of France," which had been borne by English kings since the reign of Edward III, should be dropped.

The Treaty of Amiens was less satisfactory to Great Britain than to France. The British gave up many of their gains in the war; the French gave up practically nothing. Addington, indeed, was prepared to defend the peace; he thought it to be honourable and likely to be lasting. Sheridan expressed the general view more accurately when he described it as "a peace that every man was glad of and no man was proud of."

The war was remarkable, perhaps, for the success of the French. When hostilities began France was distracted and bankrupt. Her armies were ragged and undisciplined, and were opposed to the trained levies of the powers of Central Europe. By all the recognised rules of warfare the struggle ought to have been short, and, for France, inglorious. But the enthusiasm of the French troops, fighting for the ideals of the Revolution, enabled them to carry everything before them and to force the monarchs of Europe to accept humiliating terms of peace from the republic they hated and despised. The system of benevolent despotism was, in fact, played out, and was bound to suffer defeat when it was opposed to revolutionary ideals. Great Britain, in this war, allied herself in the First and Second Coalitions with these despotic monarchies, and her escape from similar humiliation was due only to her special geographical position and to the strength of her navy.

Pitt's conduct of the war was criticised in his own time, and it has been the subject of much unfavourable comment since. He was not so great a war minister as was his father. He did not possess Chatham's genius for organisation and for selecting competent commanders. He followed his father's policy in basing his action on British financial and naval strength, but, though the coasts were kept free from invasion and French colonies were captured, he did not maintain that close blockade

of French ports which had existed during the Seven Years War. Nor were French merchant ships and privateers cleared from the seas, for more than three thousand British merchant vessels were captured by French privateers during the war. The subsidies which Pitt distributed to the allies in the First and Second Coalitions were not always well spent, for the

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continental powers did not hesitate to use British money in waging other wars than that against France. Military expeditions were fitted out and dispatched to the continent on two or three occasions, but not one of them achieved any material success. They were inadequately equipped, badly planned, and unskilfully led, and involved a waste of life and money out of all proportion to the results achieved.

In no way has Pitt been criticised more severely than in his methods of raising money for the war. Money was needed on a scale hitherto undreamt of. Yet in the early years of the

war there was little increase in taxation, and the sinking fund was allowed to continue. At that stage Pitt did not realise that the war was likely to be prolonged, and he was unwilling to diminish the growing prosperity of the country by imposing crushing taxation. And although the sinking fund was, strictly speaking, financially defensible only in time of peace, when national income exceeded expenditure and no loans were being raised, Pitt thought it unnecessary to interrupt it for what he expected to be a short war. He increased the assessed taxes in 1797, and in the following year an income tax was levied, on a carefully graduated scale. The tax was payable on incomes of sixty pounds per annum or over, and though on the lowest incomes the impost was no more than twopence in the pound it was as high as two shillings in the pound on incomes of over two hundred pounds per annum. It was regarded definitely as a war tax, which, it was understood, would be removed upon the return of peace. It has often been asserted that Pitt was at fault in not imposing this tax earlier. Had he done so he need not have borrowed so freely. But his critics forget that in the early stages of the war the nation shared his view that it would be short, and probably would not have consented to the imposition of heavy taxation.

The feature of Pitt's financial policy which was most open to criticism was his method of borrowing money. As loan after loan was raised the Government naturally had to pay a higher rate of interest on the money received. Yet Pitt issued loans at three per cent again and again, and was forced to allow a heavy discount. The matter is too complex to be dealt with here, but it may be stated that, if he had issued loans at par, bearing interest at five or six per cent, the dead weight of the debt would have been much less at the end of the war, and the annual interest-charge might have been reduced in the ensuing years of peace by means of conversion loans.

Pitt's critics charge him with doing many things in the worst possible way. Naval strength, they say, was not used to good effect, financial strength was frittered away, and the man who had formerly been liberal-minded and in favour of reform became reactionary and even tyrannical. Against all this it should be remembered that Pitt had to direct the national effort in a struggle of unparalleled magnitude, and that never before, not even in the time of Chatham, had Great Britain

been involved in a war in which her very existence was so definitely challenged. Pitt made mistakes; it is easy to assert that many things might have been done in a better way. But no other man of his time would have done better; he held on in spite of disaster; he would never admit the possibility of defeat; his attitude encouraged the nation to hold on; he was "the pilot that weathered the storm."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE NAPOLEONIC WAR

War between Great Britain and France was renewed in May, 1803, after an interval of only thirteen months. The Peace of Amiens was designed merely to afford breathing-time to both countries. Ill-feeling remained, and each side soon began to complain of the conduct of the other. Great Britain was slow to begin the evacuation of Malta, and, in fact, never left the island at all; it was believed that the First Consul would not hesitate to seize it again after the British had restored it to the Knights. On the other hand, French troops occupied Dutch territory, and it was feared that the First Consul intended to close Dutch ports against British trade. Bonaparte's refusal to enter into a commercial treaty afforded further ground for the belief that he was preparing for a renewal of the war. References to him in the English press were hostile and insulting, and he resented the cartoons which continually held him up to ridicule. Great Britain, in declaring war, was merely anticipating the action which Bonaparte was preparing to take.

In 1802 Bonaparte was appointed First Consul for life (his previous appointment, in 1799, had been for ten years), and two years later he assumed the title of "Emperor of the French." It is the common practice for ruling sovereigns to choose to be known by their Christian names, while other prominent men are referred to by their surnames. Bonaparte assumed the style of "Napoleon" when he received the life appointment to the consulate, and continued it till his death. The war which is the subject of this chapter is, therefore, appropriately called the Napoleonic War, although, in this country, the French Emperor was commonly called "Bonaparte" throughout the period of the struggle.

The term "Napoleonic War" is of some importance in that it indicates that the struggle was of a different type from that which preceded it. In the French Revolutionary War Great

Britain was allied with the eighteenth-century despotic monarchies against a nation inspired with revolutionary ideals. In the Napoleonic War the position was to a considerable extent reversed. Burke's prophecy had been fulfilled, and France was now under the rule of a despot. Though the Revolution was over, the *ancien régime* was not restored. The old, inefficient, and well-meaning absolutism of the Bourbons was replaced by the new, ruthless, and highly efficient despotism of Napoleon. In the earlier war the French had overthrown many of the smaller monarchies of Central Europe and Italy, and had appeared everywhere as liberators. They had spread revolutionary principles and had established sound and satisfactory government in the territories which they conquered. But the nations of Europe were now being called upon to withstand the advance of a harsher tyranny than that of their former rulers, and in course of time Napoleon was opposed by popular enthusiasm and determination in every part of Europe. Briefly stated, in the first war France was the champion of freedom against despotism; in the second war she fought under a tyrant against the freedom and independence of other nations.

Addington was still Prime Minister when war broke out, but within a few months there was a strong popular demand for the recall of Pitt to office. Under other circumstances Pitt might have felt it to be his duty to insist upon the king's assent being given to Catholic Emancipation as the price of his return to office, but he knew that the revival of the proposal would rouse strong emotion in the king and perhaps bring about a recurrence of his insanity. In view of the national need Pitt accepted office without reference to the cause of his resignation in 1801. Negotiations for the inclusion of the Whigs under Fox in a coalition ministry which should typify the solidity of national resistance to the French broke down, as the king disliked Fox and would not admit him to office. Pitt, therefore, formed his ministry from the group which had served under Addington, who, as Lord Sidmouth, consented to hold office in the new Government.

In 1804 Napoleon assembled an army at Boulogne for the invasion of England. Energetic measures were taken to repel the French. An army of volunteers, ill-trained but determined, was enrolled, and the Martello towers, which are a feature of some parts of our east and south-east coasts to-day,

were built. But Napoleon was kept at bay by the British fleet, whose vigilance was unceasing. He hoped to slip across the Channel in a fog, but for many months the sea was clear of all but the slightest of mists. At length, weary of waiting, he directed the Toulon fleet under Villeneuve to effect a junction with the Spanish fleet at Cadiz (war between Great Britain and Spain had begun towards the end of 1804) and to sail to the West Indies. Nelson pursued the enemy in order to frustrate possible attacks on the West Indian colonies, but the French and Spanish returned to European waters at once. Their plan was to join with the Brest fleet and sail up the Channel in order to convoy the Boulogne army across to England. They hoped that Nelson would be left in the West Indies until it was too late for him to do anything. But the French plan failed. Nelson followed the enemy back to Europe, after having sent a fast vessel to England to inform the Government of what was happening. The French Brest fleet was unable to escape the blockade maintained by Cornwallis, and failed to join Villeneuve, who was attacked by Calder off Cape Finisterre. His ships were so severely battered that he put into Ferrol to refit. Meanwhile, Nelson was back in the Channel. Napoleon was angry at the collapse of his plan, the essence of which was the leaving of Nelson in the West Indies until the invasion of England had begun, and he wrote to Villeneuve, censuring him for cowardice. The imputation was in no way deserved, and the French admiral left port determined to show his eagerness to come to grips with the British fleet. At the Battle of Trafalgar the French and Spanish fleets were totally destroyed, though in England the victory was felt to be dearly bought at the cost of the life of Nelson. Much work remained to be done by the British navy during the next ten years, but there were no other great battles with the French at sea, since the main French fleet had ceased to exist.

The proposed invasion of England had to be abandoned, and the camp at Boulogne was broken up. The army assembled there was used by Napoleon against the members of a new coalition which had been formed against him. In 1805 Pitt succeeded in forming the Third Coalition, consisting of Russia, Austria and Great Britain against France. Napoleon marched against the Austrians and defeated them in 1805 at Austerlitz, compelling them to accept a third humiliating

peace at Pressburg. Prussia, which was not a member of the coalition, had become involved in the war, and was defeated by Napoleon at Jena in 1806. The French Emperor entered Berlin as a conqueror, and, passing on, he overcame the Russians at Friedland in 1807. A treaty of peace was made in that year at Tilsit, by which the French and the Russian Emperors became allies. Napoleon's power was at its height. By none was his authority challenged, except by Great Britain, who stood, as she had already stood twice within ten years, alone in opposition to the French.

Realising, as he did, that British resistance to his will was based on naval power, and that the maintenance of the navy was only possible because of the profits of British trade, Napoleon decided to limit and, as far as possible, destroy that trade. While he was at Berlin in 1806 he issued the Berlin Decree, and in the following year he put forth a supplementary edict at Milan. These decrees began what is called the Continental System. Napoleon declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade and forbade France and her allies to trade with this country. He further ordered that all European ports from the Vistula to the Adriatic were to be closed to British ships, and, in order that British goods should not find their way into Europe in neutral ships, that neutral vessels which visited the continent after having touched at a British port were to be confiscated as prizes. British merchandise, wherever found, was to be destroyed. The British reply was contained in the Orders in Council, by which the ports of France were declared to be in a state of blockade. Neutral ships were forbidden to go to the continent, and those on the way thither were diverted to British ports.

This commercial warfare continued till the fall of Napoleon. The Continental System inflicted a good deal of damage upon British trade by the closing of European markets to British goods, and, though no French fleet existed by which the blockade of Great Britain could be enforced, a large number of privateers inflicted heavy losses upon British merchant shipping. It was feared that Napoleon might seize the Danish fleet and use it against Great Britain, but a British squadron visited Copenhagen in 1807 and repeated the exploit of 1801. The Danish ships were captured and kept in British possession till the end of the war. But the counter-blockade of the continent by Great Britain caused much greater loss and suffering to the

French and other peoples subject to Napoleon. The demand for British products was so considerable that a good deal of smuggling went on, and Napoleon himself had to grant licences for the admission of British goods of various kinds. But the hardship caused in Europe in spite of these exceptions reacted against Napoleon, and caused widespread resentment, which developed into hatred of him.

The position of ships sailing under neutral flags was full of difficulty. The directions of the warring powers were such that both could not be obeyed. Great Britain, however, was able to enforce her orders the more effectively, and her insistence upon overhauling and searching neutral vessels was one cause of a war with the United States which broke out in 1812.

The hardships involved in the enforcement of the Continental System were such that some European powers were reluctant to obey Napoleon's directions. In 1807 Portugal declined to close her ports to British shipping and to declare war on Great Britain, and a French force was sent into the country to reduce it to obedience. The British Government sent troops under Sir Arthur Wellesley to Portugal. The French were defeated at the Battle of Vimiero and were compelled to evacuate the country. In this way began the Peninsular War, which soon spread to include Spain, where Napoleon had deposed the king, Charles IV, and had appointed his brother Joseph to the vacant throne. Wellesley was for a short time deprived of his command of the British troops in the Peninsula, but when he was sent back to Portugal he began a series of campaigns which culminated in the utter defeat of the French and the destruction of their power in Spain and Portugal. Wellesley built earthworks, the lines of Torres Vedras, from sea to sea across the peninsula at the mouth of the Tagus, and while his army was small he held it in reserve behind the lines. From his fortifications he was able to sally forth into Portugal and even into Spain, and could, when necessary, retreat into his camp, whither the French could not follow. Reinforcements and supplies for the British arrived constantly by sea, while the French armies were weakened by constant guerrilla attacks by Spanish and Portuguese, and were reduced in numbers by Napoleon's withdrawal of troops for service in other campaigns. At length Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) was able to advance, to defeat Marshal Soult and other French

commanders in a series of battles, and to drive the enemy across the Pyrenees into France.

A fourth Austrian attempt, in 1809, to destroy French power resulted in another Austrian defeat, this time at Wagram, followed by a fourth treaty of peace, at Vienna.

Napoloen's ally, the Tsar, at length became alarmed at the effects of the Continental System in Russia, and discontinued its enforcement, reopening trade with Great Britain. The French Emperor resolved to punish his former friend, and in 1812 assembled in eastern Germany, for the invasion of Russia, an army which, with Prussian and Austrian auxiliaries, consisted of no less than six hundred thousand men. This, the greatest of Napoleon's enterprises, ended in disaster. The Russians were, indeed, defeated at the Battle of Borodino, and Moscow was reached and captured, but fire broke out in various parts of the city soon after the French arrival. Had Napoleon retreated at once it is possible that his huge army might have been extricated without serious difficulty. But negotiations were begun between French and Russians and were continued for more than a month, and when they broke down and the French began to withdraw the Russian winter had already commenced. Lack of food and insufficiency of clothing caused intense suffering and great mortality among the troops, who were subject also to Russian attacks. Disease broke out among men and animals. The rough pasture of the Russian plain proved unsuitable for the horses of the invading army, and many suffered and died during the invasion, while the retreating troops lost large numbers of men from typhus. Altogether, a mere remnant accompanied Napoleon when he recrossed the Niemen and re-entered Germany. He had lost nearly half a million men, though not all by death, since many were prisoners of war.

The moment seemed ripe for a new coalition, and in 1813 Russia, Prussia, Austria and Great Britain entered once again into an alliance against the common enemy. (This was the fifth occasion within twenty years that Austria had made war on France.) In this, the War of Liberation, fighting occurred in Germany, and, though France was so lacking in man-power that Napoleon had to conscript mere boys, the allies were defeated at Lützen, Bautzen and Dresden. In the great Battle of Leipzig, however, the Battle of the Nations, as it is sometimes called, which continued for several days,

Napoleon was defeated and had to retreat into France. The victors followed him closely, and for the first time since France had been cleared of enemies in 1792–3 she was subject to invasion. Early in 1814, while the allies were crossing the eastern frontier, Wellington advanced from Spain into France and defeated Soult at the Battles of Orthez and Toulouse. Napoleon fought desperate battles against his enemies, but numbers were too strong for him. In 1814 he was compelled to abdicate. He was allowed to retire, with the title of Emperor of Elba, to the little Mediterranean island of that name, and Europe's long nightmare was over.

Before the allies entered Paris the Bourbon monarchy was restored, and Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, was accepted as King of France. The victors treated the French with remarkable leniency, choosing to regard themselves as having made war against a tyrant rather than against a nation, and professing to be the deliverers rather than the conquerors of the French. But the turmoil of twenty years of war had left Europe in a very different state from that of the eighteenth century, and it was decided that a congress of the powers should be held at Vienna to effect a permanent settlement of European affairs.

The congress began to assemble in November, 1814, though little was done till the beginning of the new year. The assembled kings and statesmen were by no means in agreement, and there were times when it seemed probable that quarrelling over the spoils would lead to a renewal of war. The failure of the congress to agree led to its prolongation, and before its members had departed news arrived that Napoleon had left Elba and had landed in France. Louis XVIII sent troops to arrest him; they joined him, and he marched towards Paris with an army which daily increased in size. Louis fled across the frontier, and Napoleon reached the capital and resumed the title of Emperor of the French.

In the face of the common danger the diplomats at Vienna at once revived their alliance against Napoleon, and prepared to use their armies, which had not yet been disbanded, against France. Russians and Austrians were to invade France from the east, while British and Prussians were to advance from the north-east, through Belgium. Napoleon's position was far stronger than in the previous year. The release of prisoners of war placed large armies at his disposal. In 1814 his forces

consisted of boys; in 1815 they were composed of veterans. He marched into Belgium to oppose the British and Prussians, and the final campaign was fought in June, 1815.

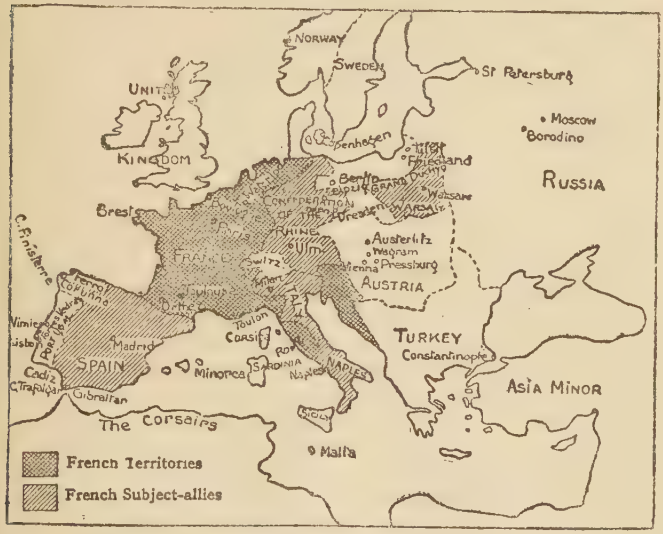
Napoleon's aim was to defeat the Prussians and the British separately. He drove Blücher, the Prussian general, back at Ligny and attacked Wellington's outposts at Quatre Bras. The duke held his own in the fight, but Blücher's retirement forced him to fall back also. Napoleon detached Grouchy to keep Blücher in check, while he concentrated his main attack upon Wellington at Waterloo. The final battle, the only one in which Napoleon and Wellington were directly opposed to each other, was fought on Sunday, 18th June, 1815. The issue was long in doubt, but, though the British left gave way to some extent, the main line stood firm. During the afternoon Blücher, who had evaded Grouchy, arrived, and when Wellington ordered the whole line to advance the battle was won. A month later, Napoleon boarded a British man-of-war, the *Bellerophon,* and surrendered to Captain Maitland. He was brought to England, on which he set eyes for the first and only time in his life, but he was not permitted to land. Maitland was ordered to convey him to St. Helena, a lonely island in the South Atlantic, where he passed the remainder of his life. He died in 1821.

By the Second Treaty of Paris France was called upon to surrender all her conquests and to revert to the boundaries which had existed in 1789. A war indemnity of 700,000,000 francs (£28,000,000 sterling) was imposed on her, and an army of occupation, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, was to remain in the north-east of the country for a period of five years. These were moderate terms, though they were not so mild as the conditions offered in 1814. In view of the readiness of the French people to rally to the support of Napoleon upon his return from Elba it was impossible for the victors to pose merely as liberators, as they had done in the previous year. Louis XVIII was restored. "When the allies reached Paris in 1814 they found Louis installed as king; in 1815 they brought him in their baggage train."

Napoleon's fall was due to many causes. The almost unbroken succession of victories which marked the earlier years of his career was due not merely to inborn military genius but to careful planning and accurate foresight. He

was less careful in these respects towards the end, and the members of his staff were of opinion that in the Russian campaign and the War of Liberation the qualities which distinguished him ten or fifteen years earlier were lacking.

But his failure in the end was due to wider causes than this. As the years rolled on and the burden of the Continental System was felt in every part of Europe Napoleon



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became more and more disliked. The peoples of Europe regarded him as a despot whose yoke became year by year more burdensome. Spanish and Portuguese in the south-west, Germans in Central Europe, Russians in the east, were at one in their determination to free themselves from Napoleon's tyranny.

And throughout the long struggle Napoleon was faced by the might of Great Britain. The British fleet exercised ceaseless vigilance, enclosing the continent in a stranglehold from which there was no escape. Behind the fleet British industry developed and British commerce throve, and the increasing wealth of the country enabled it to hold

on until Napoleon's career was ended. The British navy, indeed, contributed in no small degree to his failure. In the early part of the war the skill of admirals and the bravery of seamen achieved the destruction of enemy fleets and freed the country from the fear of invasion. Enemy colonies were captured and enemy trade was strangled, while, despite the depredations of privateers, the seas were kept open for British trade. Wellington in Spain remained in uninterrupted communication with Great Britain, and the fleets kept him regularly supplied with the reinforcements and equipment which enabled him to build up the magnificent army with which he drove the French from Spain.

Pitt died in 1806. He lived long enough to learn of the victory at Trafalgar and of the Austrian defeat at Austerlitz. Worn out in body and soul, he died, but his indomitable spirit, the spirit that refused to recognise defeat, lived on. A coalition ministry of Whigs and Tories, the Ministry of All the Talents, succeeded him, for George III at last consented to Fox holding office. Fox, who had hitherto greatly admired Napoleon, made some tentative overtures for peace, but the eyes of the Whig statesman were opened at last to the insatiable ambition of Napoleon, and he realised the necessity of carrying the struggle through to a victorious issue. The coalition ministry fell to pieces in 1807, and the Tories, under one leader after another, continued to hold office till the end of the war, and, indeed, until 1830. They were not men of genius. In 1809 they wasted, on a fruitless expedition to Walcheren Island, an army which, if it had been sent to the Peninsula, might have shortened the struggle there. They made many mistakes. But they never wavered in their determination to keep on to the end.

CHAPTER XXIV

TORY FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 1815

The long period of Tory rule, which had existed with only slight intermissions since the beginning of the reign of George III, continued until the year 1830. Lord Liverpool held office as Prime Minister from 1812 till 1827, and after his retirement in that year the party was led in succession by Canning, Goderich and Wellington. Foreign affairs after the conclusion of peace were directed by Lord Castlereagh until his death in 1822, and after that event by George Canning, who died in 1827. The aims of these statesmen will be seen clearly from a consideration of the course of events in the years following the peace.

The Congress of Vienna, which was interrupted by the return of Napoleon and his restoration to the throne, concluded its sittings after his fall. It met to settle the map of Europe after the disturbances of the last twenty-three years, and in making its arrangements it displayed a natural tendency to reward those states which had opposed Napoleon and to penalise those which had supported him. A return to the state of affairs which was in existence in 1792 would have been satisfactory to few, if any, of the powers, and in any case would have been impossible, since the Holy Roman Empire no longer existed, and could hardly be revived. (The last Holy Roman Emperor, Francis II, laid down the title in 1806, soon after Napoleon assumed the style of Emperor of the French. Francis called himself henceforth "Emperor of Austria.") The Congress wished to make such arrangements as would strengthen the states in proximity to France, in order to diminish the prospect of a renewal of trouble from that quarter, and it sought to take precautions against revolutionary outbreaks in future.

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the territorial rearrangements made at Vienna, but it may be mentioned that Norway

was taken from Denmark and united to Sweden, in order to reward the latter power and punish the former. Belgium, the former Austrian Netherlands, was added to Holland, which was made a monarchy under the Prince of Orange. Austria did not wish to recover her former Netherlands possession, and was compensated for its loss by being granted Milan and Venice in the north of Italy. Prussia received part of Saxony (another example of reward and punishment) and an extension of her Rhenish territories. Russia annexed Finland and most of Poland. Great Britain kept most of her acquisitions overseas, including the Cape of Good Hope, which she had restored to the Dutch in 1802 but had reconquered in 1806. The German states formed a Confederation under Austrian leadership, and the rulers of most of the Italian states were restored to their thrones. The obvious criticism of these arrangements is that they were made in the interests of the sovereigns and without consulting the wishes of the peoples of Europe, and since, during the nineteenth century, popular wishes proved to be more powerful than royal interests, the settlement failed to be permanent. The history of Europe in the nineteenth century is largely the record of the undoing of the work of the Congress of Vienna.

Before, however, the congress is decisively condemned, the point of view of its members should be taken into account. Europe had passed through a terrible experience. It had been bled white by more than twenty years of war, which had begun as a result of the French Revolution. The continent needed peace, and European rulers thought that the surest way to secure it was to prevent revolution, and if, in spite of their efforts, revolution should appear, to crush it. Alexander I, the Russian Tsar, was a man of deep religious feelings, and he proposed that the chief powers should enter into an alliance with a view to conducting the affairs of Europe upon Christian principles—"the principles of that holy religion which the Divine Saviour hath imparted to mankind." Although the respect with which any proposal of the Tsar must necessarily be received was at first tempered with astonishment, the idea took root, and the Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia and Austria, with some states of minor importance, was formed. The Tsar's suggestion was, indeed, one which it would have been difficult to decline, for, apart from Turkey, all the powers of Europe were nominally Christian, and could hardly be expected

to declare that they were not willing to see European affairs settled upon Christian principles. But men were not all agreed upon the definition of the phrase, and Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, saw clearly that the maintenance of absolute monarchy and the suppression of revolutions would be regarded by the monarchs of Europe as entirely in harmony

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with the doctrines of the Christian religion. The idea of Divine Right, which had been the basis of the Stuart monarchy in Great Britain in the seventeenth century, was, in fact if not in theory, held by the despotic monarchs of central and eastern Europe in the nineteenth century. Metternich, therefore, supported the proposal, and for some years the Holy Alliance was on the watch to put down all revolutionary, and therefore unchristian, tendencies in any part of Europe.

Though the Holy Alliance was a league for the suppression of future revolutionary movements, it was also a league for

the avoidance of wars, and, as pointed out above, the connection between these two ideas was, in the minds of the statesmen of the time, very close; it was the connection of cause and effect. The Holy Alliance presents some points of similarity to the League of Nations of the present day. While, however, the League includes all states, large and small, which desire membership, and works for the abolition of war by the establishment of a court of international justice to which the settlement of disputes between nations may be referred, the Alliance contained but a few great powers, which desired to impose their will upon all smaller states. Moreover, the League is a league of nations; the Alliance was an alliance of sovereigns. It cannot be doubted that the League is based on better and more enduring principles than was the Holy Alliance. Yet it may be remembered to the credit of the Alliance that the peace of Europe was broken by only minor wars for forty years after the Congress of Vienna.

Great Britain was represented at Vienna by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, who were by no means in complete sympathy with the policy of suppression which was being developed at the Congress. Yet Metternich and the Tsar were anxious to secure the adhesion of Great Britain to the Holy Alliance, and, as stated already, it was not easy to give a direct refusal to the invitation to join. Great Britain was a Christian country with an established Church, and she ought to be in sympathy with the professed ideals of the Alliance. A way out of the difficulty was found in the fact that George III, the King of Great Britain, was insane and that his duties were being carried on by a Prince Regent. It was intimated to the members of the Holy Alliance that the regent, although he was much interested in, and felt great sympathy with, the aims of the Alliance, had no authority to commit the country to it.

Great Britain agreed, however, to send representatives from time to time to congresses of the powers, whenever important matters should arise which should call for joint European action. A Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Prussia, Austria and Great Britain was, therefore, formed. It might appear to be singularly illogical for this country to join with the three eastern powers in the Quadruple Alliance and to refuse to enter the Holy Alliance with them. But the Holy Alliance was committed to a definite line of policy; by joining the Quadruple

Alliance Great Britain merely promised to meet the other powers whenever necessary and to uphold the terms of the Second Treaty of Paris. She was not committed to the support of a line of policy already decided upon, and might, and in fact did, oppose the repressive action which commended itself to the other powers.

On one matter the policy suggested by Great Britain was accepted by other European powers before the Congress of Vienna separated. The abolition of the slave trade, for which an agitation had begun in the early days of Pitt's ministry, and which had received his approval, was decided upon by this country in 1807. At Vienna the other powers, France, Spain, Portugal and Holland, which were interested in this inhuman traffic agreed to end it, although each country was left to determine from what date it should begin to enforce the prohibition.

The Congress of Vienna also considered the question of the Barbary Corsairs, and decided that the time had arrived for their extermination. For centuries the commerce of the Mediterranean and the coasts of Western Europe had been subject to the raids of the corsairs, and their captives had been kept in lifelong servitude. It seems incredible that the great powers of Europe should have been indifferent for so long to this menace to the liberty and prosperity of their subjects. A British squadron under the command of Lord Exmouth visited Algiers, bombarded it, and effected the release of a large number of Christian slaves.

The first congress to be held in consequence of the formation of the Quadruple Alliance met at Aachen in 1818, and, while Castlereagh was not in all points in agreement with the Holy Alliance powers, no definite breach occurred. It was decided to withdraw the army of occupation from France, although the period for which it had been decided to keep it there had not expired. France was invited to join the Quadruple Alliance, and was thus restored to equality of status with the other powers of Europe.

By 1820 popular revolts had occurred in Spain, Portugal and Naples. A congress assembled at Troppau and issued a statement, known as the Protocol of Troppau, to the effect that the powers of Europe were entitled to intervene in any state in which a revolutionary movement appeared. Castlereagh made formal protest against the protocol, and from that

time concerted action between Great Britain and the eastern powers was impossible. Further congresses were held at Laibach in 1821 and at Verona in 1822. The Neapolitan revolt was suppressed by Austrian troops, and the breach between Great Britain and the powers of the Holy Alliance steadily widened. Castlereagh drew up a memorandum in which he stated the grounds of his objection to the intervention of the Holy Alliance in Spanish affairs; before the Congress of Verona actually met the strain of the conduct of public business proved to be too much for him, and he took his own life.

Few statesmen have been more entirely misunderstood in his own time or more grossly misrepresented by his historians than Castlereagh. In his own time and for many years afterwards he was regarded as a supporter of the Holy Alliance and an advocate of the policy of suppressing revolutionary movements. The more vigorous opposition to the Holy Alliance which developed while Canning was foreign minister has been looked upon as an entire change of British policy. In recent years a truer estimate of Castlereagh has gained ground, and it is recognised that he was not less sincere than Canning in opposing the repressive policy of the despotic monarchs. It is not to be expected that Castlereagh should have been sympathetic with popular revolts, but he held that each state ought to be left to settle its own internal affairs without foreign interference. The policy of non-intervention which he put forward was carried on by Canning, who adopted Castlereagh's memorandum as the basis on which the British representative at Verona was to act. Such difference as existed between the policies of the two statesmen was one of degree only. Castlereagh's opposition to the spread of despotism in Europe was limited to protest; Canning was prepared to go farther, to oppose force with force, and, where the Holy Alliance threatened to intervene to support an absolute monarch against a revolt, to send British forces to assist the rebels. Even this difference is to be accounted for by the fact that, in the years immediately following the war, while Castlereagh was Foreign Minister, Great Britain was in no condition to use force; by the time Canning directed British policy some years had elapsed since the war, the country was recovering from its worst effects, and it was no longer out of the question to threaten to fight.

Canning was unable to prevent Holy Alliance action in

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Spain, and the movement for the establishment of a constitution in that land failed. But the Spanish colonies in America had been in revolt for many years. Action was contemplated by the Holy Alliance in order to compel them to submit, but in 1823 Canning recognised the independence of the Central and South American republics. At the same time the President of the United States, James Monroe, issued the famous Monroe Doctrine, to the effect that the United States would not permit European powers to interfere in the affairs of American states. The action of Canning and Monroe was sufficient to deter the Alliance from moving, and the republics secured their independence.

For some years affairs in Portugal were unsettled, and, when intervention was threatened by the Holy Alliance, Canning sent a British fleet to the Tagus. For a time it seemed likely that a second Peninsular War might break out. But a settlement was effected, and the Portuguese constitution was for the time being saved.

The Turkish Empire had for some time been declining in strength, and in 1821 the Greeks, who had long suffered from the oppression of the Turks, broke into revolt. Turks and Greeks vied with each other in the barbarity of their treatment of prisoners who fell into their hands. Much sympathy was felt with the Greeks, and many English volunteers went to the Balkans to fight for them. Byron, the poet, died of fever at Missolonghi in 1824.

It was exceptionally difficult for the principles of the Holy Alliance to be applied to the Greek revolt. In other cases the Alliance had been ready to assist a despotic monarch to suppress a revolutionary outbreak, but it could not be maintained that it would be in accordance with Christian principles to assist a Mohammedan sultan to put down a revolt of his Christian subjects. Moreover, the sympathies of even the Holy Alliance powers were with the Greeks, and the Tsar wished to help them to gain their independence. Yet if the powers intervened to secure the freedom of the Greeks the success of this rebellion would encourage restless and discontented people in every state of Europe to rise against their rulers.

Canning was in sympathy with the Greeks, but he adhered to his policy of non-intervention. He did not wish to see the Turkish Empire weakened. If the Tsar intervened to secure

for the Greeks their independence Russian influence would be extended in the Balkans, and a movement would begin which might culminate in the Russians securing an outlet to the Mediterranean. For this reason Austria also was hostile to Greek independence; both Great Britain and Austria were unwilling to sanction the break-up of the Turkish Empire if Russia should reap advantage from it.

In 1825 the sultan obtained help from Egypt, and a fleet and an army were sent under the command of Ibrahim Pasha to assist in the suppression of the revolt. Ibrahim and his troops committed such atrocities in the Morea that the Tsar determined to take up arms on behalf of the Greeks, no matter what the views of other Governments might be. Canning, also, felt that intervention could be delayed no longer, and sent Wellington to St. Petersburg to arrange for joint Anglo-Russian action. Alexander I died at this time, but his successor, Nicholas I, agreed with Great Britain to offer to mediate between Turks and Greeks. The sultan, however, would not accept the proposal, and the two powers threatened to recognise Greek independence. The French Government approved of this line of policy, and in 1827, by the Treaty of London, the three powers agreed to compel Turkey to accept their mediation. Their fleets were sent to Turkish waters and encountered the Turkish and Egyptian fleets at the Bay of Navarino. War had not been declared against Turkey, but a chance shot from a Turkish ship led to a battle in which Ibrahim's fleet was destroyed. The battle was almost accidental, but it was decisive; the achievement of Greek independence was no longer in doubt. Wellington became Prime Minister in 1828; he referred to the Battle of Navarino as an "untoward event," and he withdrew from participation in eastern affairs. The Russians advanced into Turkish territory and by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 compelled the sultan to grant independence to the Greeks. It had been Canning's object to prevent Russia from doing this by herself, lest she should gain an accession of influence in the Balkans; by Wellington's change of policy Canning's plans were frustrated. The final arrangements with regard to the boundaries of the new Greek monarchy were not completed for two or three years, and the liveliest suspicion of Russian designs in the Balkans existed among British statesmen throughout the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE first fifteen years of the nineteenth century were years of war, but after Waterloo had been fought and won Great Britain was not again engaged in a life and death struggle until the European war of 1914–18. During the first half of the nineteenth century the condition of the people of this country was extremely unsatisfactory. Most of the working-classes were living in a state of poverty, and even of destitution, both before and after the peace of 1815.

Many new towns had come into existence in the industrial regions of Great Britain. They were built at a time when *laissez-faire* philosophy was still widely held. No building regulations existed, and the cottages which were erected for the accommodation of the army of factory workers were lacking in the most elementary requirements for securing health and decency. Hovels of two or three rooms were crowded together side by side and back to back, in narrow mean streets which in course of time became the worst of slums. Drainage and water-supply were deficient, infectious diseases were common, and a high death-rate prevailed. In the factories work was carried on under appalling conditions. The buildings were often dirty and ill-ventilated, and they were crowded with dangerous machinery from which the workers were not protected. For many years there was little legal restriction upon the hours of work, and wages were so low that a man was unable to support his wife and family upon his earnings, so that women and children as well as men were forced to seek factory employment.

In the country districts the condition of the poor was in some respects better, in other ways worse. The overcrowding which was a feature of the factory towns was absent, and life was necessarily healthier in the country than in the towns. The labourer in the eighteenth century had earned his living

partly by agriculture and partly by textile work, but the changes which had taken place had left those who remained on the land as wage-labourers in a poverty-stricken condition. Wages steadily fell, until they reached a point at which the agricultural worker could no longer support his family, even in the humblest way. The distress of the poor led to the supplementing of wages by grants of money from the funds for the relief of the poor. This system was first introduced at Speenhamland, in Berkshire, in 1795, where, at a meeting of county magistrates, it was decided to grant poor relief upon a definite scale to labourers whose wages were too low to enable them to support themselves and their dependents. The payments varied with the size of the labourer's family, with the rate of wages he was receiving, and with the price of bread. Within a year or two the Speenhamland system was in operation in most parts of the country.

This state of affairs lasted for forty years, and during its continuance there was no hope of improving the condition of the poor. The farmer saw no reason for paying more than the very lowest wage to his employees, for if he gave them more they would receive less from the parish fund and would be no better off. For that reason they had no ground for asking for higher wages, and they had no incentive to work harder in order to obtain higher remuneration by giving more valuable service. The poor rate was necessarily very heavy, and, while the system involved, in effect, the payment of part of the farmer's wage-bill out of parish funds, it pauperised the labourer and utterly destroyed his self-respect.

The return of peace in 1815 was not accompanied by any improvement in the state of the working classes in town or country. In some respects, indeed, their condition changed for the worse, for to other hardships was added uncertainty of employment. Many thousands of men were discharged from the fighting forces and from the arsenals and munition-works, and for a few years the problem of unemployment was grave. These men might have been absorbed into industry within a reasonable time if trade had been flourishing, but it was not. The years immediately following the peace were years of trade depression, for the countries of Europe were exhausted by the war and were too poor to buy British goods.

The state of national finance and taxation gave rise to the gravest concern. The National Debt now amounted to

£831,000,000, a truly appalling figure. Yet the income tax, which had been imposed in 1798 as a war tax only, was removed in 1816. Though its abolition was in accordance with the pledge given when it was first levied, it would have been wise to continue war taxation until the war debt had been reduced to a normal level. But the contrary view prevailed, and even a proposal to reduce the income tax to half its former rate was defeated, and it was removed altogether. Yet national income had to be raised in some way, and with the abolition of the chief direct source of revenue it had to come from indirect taxation. Duties of crushing severity were levied upon many hundreds of articles, and the weight of these imposts was felt by the poorest and added to the hardships of their lives. The annual national budget before the French Revolutionary War amounted to about £18,000,000; after 1815 it exceeded £100,000,000. Much of the additional £80,000,000 was extracted from the pockets of the working classes. The effect of the existence of an army of unemployed was to reduce wages in industry to starvation point; the effect of the taxation system was to make high prices higher.

Agriculture was in a bad way after 1815. The difficulty of importing food during the war had led to more and more land being brought into cultivation to meet the needs of a steadily increasing population. As, presumably, the best land was already cultivated, this additional land was of inferior quality. Nevertheless, during the war farmers obtained good prices for their corn, and landowners secured good rents for their land. This state of affairs could not be expected to continue after the return of peace, when corn might again be imported without hindrance, and landlords and farmers ought to have been prepared for a lowering of rents and prices. But the landed interest was all-powerful in Parliament, and was determined not to surrender its prosperity without a struggle. In 1815 a Corn Law was passed which prohibited the importation of corn while the market price was below eighty shillings per quarter (504 lb.). It was hoped that this measure would have the effect of stabilising corn prices. If, owing to an abundant harvest, the price of corn fell, imports would cease, and the fall would not go far. If the price rose in times of scarcity, corn would be imported, and the rise would not be great. It was hoped that the price of a quarter of wheat would always be between seventy and ninety shillings, and

usually between seventy-five and eighty-five shillings, and it was contended that wheat would never be so cheap that it would not pay the farmer to grow it, nor bread so dear that the poor could not afford to buy it.

Rarely in modern English history has an Act of Parliament so completely failed of its purpose as did the Corn Law. In the ten years following its enactment violent fluctuations occurred in the price of corn. In 1817 the price reached one hundred and eighteen shillings per quarter; in 1822 it fell to thirty-nine shillings. In a single year (1816) it varied between fifty-four shillings and one hundred and seven shillings. Farmers were ruined, and many farms went out of cultivation. Yet the price of bread remained at famine level, and to the other troubles of the poor was added scarcity of food.

National prosperity could not be restored until trade began to revive. One serious hindrance to a recovery of trade lay in the continued suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England. In 1797 the Bank had ceased to pay cash in exchange for its notes, and, though the latter still circulated, their value had gone down. Unfortunately, the value of the notes fluctuated considerably. At one time a five-pound note was worth no more than £3 11s.; it rose in value in a year or two to £4 10s.; then it dropped again. No business man was willing to enter into a large contract for which he would be paid in bank-notes whose value at the time of payment he could not possibly foresee. In 1819, however, owing to the efforts of Sir Robert Peel, the Bank resumed cash payments, and henceforth a bank-note always circulated for its face value. This was the most important step which had been taken so far to bring about a revival of trade.

The discontent of the working classes with their hard lot was expressed from time to time in outbreaks of rioting. On some occasions unemployed workmen attacked factories and smashed machines. In 1816 a disturbance, known as the Spa Fields Riots, broke out in Bermondsey, but was suppressed, as was a rebellion in Derbyshire in the following year. In 1819 a public meeting held in Manchester to demand Parliamentary Reform was dispersed by a body of cavalry, and a number of people were killed and many others were injured, the affair being known as the Manchester Massacre, or the battle of Peterloo.

The poor were conscious of acute suffering, but they were

by no means aware of the causes of their distress, nor of the appropriate remedy for it. There was a growing agitation for parliamentary reform, but, while to the unprejudiced view of the present day this demand must seem reasonable, it is difficult to see how the granting of the right to vote would have effected any immediate improvement in the condition of the working classes.

The work of dealing with this discontent and disorder was in the hands of the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth (who, as Henry Addington, was Prime Minister from 1801 to 1804), with whom was closely associated Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary. They were opposed to the cry for parliamentary reform, and the policy of repression upon which they embarked was in sharp contrast with Castlereagh's opposition to the repressive action of the Holy Alliance abroad. But before these statesmen are condemned for their efforts to put down the agitation which was going on it should be remembered that they had lived through the revolutionary period and that they had seen attempts at reform in France followed by violence and bloodshed and long years of warfare. They felt that a repetition of this disastrous sequence of events must be avoided at all costs, and, though their reasoning may be criticised as faulty, credit should be given to them for honesty of purpose and for a desire to save the country from horrors which they regarded as likely to occur if reform should be attempted.

In 1817 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, so that, as in the time of the French Revolutionary War, the Government was empowered to imprison suspected persons without immediately bringing them to trial. In 1819, at the instance of Lord Sidmouth, Parliament passed the Six Acts, which are generally regarded as oppressive in the extreme, though an examination of their clauses reveals little to which reasonable exception can be taken. If a Government is justified in taking measures for the prevention of an armed rising no objection can be raised to acts which prohibited men from drilling and from being in possession of arms. The only really oppressive enactment was one which prohibited public meetings without the sanction of the authorities.

Castlereagh was blamed equally with Sidmouth for the policy which was followed, and when he died, in 1822, the mob rejoiced in a most indecent manner at his funeral. In

this, as in his conduct of foreign affairs, he was judged unfairly in his own time and has barely received justice at the hands of posterity.

The retirement of Sidmouth in 1821 and the death of Castlereagh in 1822 led to a reconstruction of the ministry, and a number of moderate Tories took office. Beside Canning, who became Foreign Secretary, the most important of the new men were the Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, and William Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade. Peel abandoned the repressive policy of his predecessor. He modified the system by which the penalty of death was inflicted for a large number of trivial offences, and in 1829 he established the Metropolitan Police Force, consisting of young and vigorous men, to take the place of the "Charlies." Under the new state of affairs there was a reasonable chance of criminals being apprehended. Crime was punished less severely, but more certainly. It became more risky and less profitable to break the law.

Huskisson was a believer in Free Trade, and extended the work which had been begun by Walpole and continued by Pitt. He assisted industry by lowering or abolishing the import duties on such raw materials as silk and wool. Realising, too, that the Navigation Acts had done their work, and that their continuance was likely to be detrimental to British maritime interests, since other nations were threatening to pass laws against British shipping, he secured the assent of Parliament to the principle of reciprocity. The Government was empowered to treat with foreign states on the basis of relaxing the Navigation Laws in favour of their shipping if they gave privileges to British vessels. Within the next few years treaties were made with most of the important maritime nations in the world, and though the Navigation Laws were not formally repealed until 1849 they were henceforth of little importance.

The Combination Laws of 1799 and 1800 had prohibited workmen from forming trade unions, and during the period of distress in the nineteenth century those who attempted to take concerted action to improve their condition were liable to severe penalties. But in 1824 an act was passed permitting workmen to combine for the purpose of bargaining with their employers on the subject of wages and hours of labour, but not for other objects.

It must not be thought that the wealthier classes in this country were ignorant of or indifferent to the plight of the poor at this time. They were deterred, however, from doing anything to improve social conditions by the dismal economic views which were then generally held. It was thought that the wages which were paid to the workers came out of a "Wage Fund" which could not be increased. If, therefore, the wages of any section of the working classes were raised, those of some other group must suffer diminution. Such a view provided an argument against the legalisation of trade unions, which would certainly attempt to secure higher wages for their members without reference to the effect upon the workers as a whole. If any general advance in wages were attempted the increase would be taken from the amount of money available for investment as fresh capital. Consequently, industry would decline, there would be less employment available, men would be thrown out of work, and the increased competition for this smaller amount of employment would speedily reduce wages to their former level, and probably below it.

Alarm was felt and expressed at the increase in the population. It was feared that the numbers of the people would in time be so great that food would not be available for all. Every increase in numbers involved an increase in the competition for employment, and the greater the number of workmen the smaller must necessarily be the share of the Wage Fund to which each man was entitled. The philanthropist who would relieve distress by feeding the hungry and tending the sick, by securing higher wages for the poverty-stricken and bringing about healthier conditions of existence and a lower death-rate, was compelled to hesitate by the thought that hunger and pestilence were providential devices for limiting the numbers of the people. Attempts to improve conditions, however well-meant, were thought to be likely to result in making them worse.

It is hardly necessary to point out that these depressing views were not well founded. The modern economist does not admit the existence of a fixed Wage Fund, but contends that the greater the amount that can be produced the greater the share of the workman (i.e., his wages) may be. Nor is it regarded as desirable that the population shall be restricted in numbers by a high death-rate, since every increase ought to be accompanied by a corresponding increase in production.

The increase in population ought to be self-supporting, and ought not to involve a lowering of the general standard of life.

But while the older views prevailed no improvement was possible. While men believed that any attempt to better social conditions must inevitably result in making them worse the attempt would not be made. The time was to come, however, when some men began to doubt the truth of the dismal economics, and made experimental efforts to improve social conditions. These efforts, and the success which attended them, will be described later on.

CHAPTER XXVI

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

The English Parliament had existed as an institution since the reign of Edward I. Of considerable importance during the later Middle Ages, it had declined during the Tudor Period, and in the seventeenth century it might have suffered the fate of the States-General in France had not the financial difficulties of the Stuart kings compelled them to call it from time to time. At the Revolution of 1689 it established its supremacy in the State, and from that time it was recognised as an essential feature of the constitution.

Till the middle of the eighteenth century Parliament might be regarded as, to a reasonable degree, representative of the nation, or, at least, of the landed interest in the nation. But, with the growth of industrial towns in the north and west of England and in the Clyde valley, the system of representation was felt to be in need of revision. The matter was raised now and then in the eighteenth century, but after the outbreak of the French Revolution it was shelved for nearly half a century.

By 1830, the year in which the Whigs, after nearly seventy years of almost total exclusion, returned to office, Parliament needed reform in many ways. With the increase in population and the development of new towns in industrial areas there was great necessity for a redistribution of seats. Under the old system every county, irrespective of its size and population, was represented by two members, a state of affairs which called for rectification in view of the great differences which existed between county and county. Nor were towns represented on a population basis. Every town which was represented had two members in Parliament. (The City of London had four members, and Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, which really formed one small town, each had two members.) When the House of Commons first came into existence the towns which were directed to send representatives to it were the most important in the country. The Tudors had summoned members from many other places, of little importance but of

known loyalty, in order that the House of Commons might contain a majority of men devoted to the interests of the Crown. Some towns developed into really important places, others declined into insignificance, new towns came into existence, but the system of representation remained unchanged. Some towns, indeed, had virtually ceased to exist as such. Old Sarum consisted of a grass mound, Gatton was a ruined wall within a private park, Dunwich had been destroyed by the encroachments of the sea, but members representing these places still entered the House of Commons. Many of these small towns were under the control of great nobles. If a place had a mere handful of electors, all of whom were the servants or tenants of a great lord, they were in practice bound to follow his directions, and the members for the borough were appointed by him. Towns in which this state of affairs existed were called pocket boroughs, and it has been estimated that one-third of the members of the House of Commons were the nominees of the patrons of these places.

In the counties the franchise was limited to landowners. Every person who possessed freehold land to the annual value (i.e. the rental value) of forty shillings was entitled to vote at elections, but no landless person was in possession of the privilege. Wealthy merchants and manufacturers who happened not to be landowners, and even the occupiers of copyhold or leasehold land, were debarred from exercising the franchise. In the towns which were represented in Parliament there was no uniformity in the qualification for voting. In some parliamentary boroughs the franchise was so wide as to include the potwallopers, a term used to describe persons who lived in a house which contained a hearth on which a pot could be boiled. In other towns the right was much more restricted, and in some places the town council chose the members, the mass of the people not being consulted.

Elections were fought and won by corrupt methods. Bribery was everywhere practised openly, and intimidation was even more common than bribery. Electors dared not vote in opposition to the wishes of their employers, lest they should lose their employment, or of their landlords, lest they should be evicted from their houses or lands, or, if they were shopkeepers, of their important customers, lest business should be transferred elsewhere. Voting was carried on openly, and the candidates and their agents could ascertain for whom each vote

was cast. An election might last for some days, and the state of the poll was declared daily, and even hourly. If, towards the end, only a narrow margin separated the candidates, both sides would make the most strenuous efforts to secure victory, and the last few electors might receive substantial offers for their votes.

The electors were limited in their choice to landowners, who alone could become members of Parliament. Not only were men of the working classes excluded, but merchants and manufacturers who had not invested part of their fortunes in the purchase of a landed estate were denied admission to the House of Commons. And by the Parliamentary Test Act of 1678 all members had to take an oath denying belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation, so that, before the removal of this requirement in 1829, Roman Catholics were not eligible for membership. A political career was open, before 1829, only to Churchmen and Protestant Dissenters, and many years were yet to elapse before non-Christians were allowed to enter the House of Commons.

Some efforts to bring about parliamentary reform had been made in the eighteenth century. The elder Pitt had been in favour of it as a means of overthrowing the corruption of his time, and John Wilkes, a politician of some notoriety in the reign of George III, had made definite, but unsuccessful, proposals for parliamentary reform. The Duke of Richmond in 1780 demanded substantial reforms in franchise and distribution. He called for equal electoral districts and a vote for every man. Such ideas were far in advance of his time, and were then quite impracticable. Pitt in 1785 made an unsuccessful attempt to get rid of thirty-six pocket boroughs and to transfer the seats left vacant to industrial towns. If this modest proposal had been carried, and if other circumstances had been favourable, it is possible that parliamentary reform might have been achieved piecemeal. But Pitt failed to carry his bill, and the outbreak of the French Revolution led to the dropping of the whole question until many years after Waterloo.

The arguments in favour of reform appeared to be overwhelmingly strong, but the old system was not without its defenders. It was contended that there was no reason to think that a rearrangement of seats and votes in accordance with mathematical principles would produce a better Parliament. The old system had worked well. Many young men

of parts had devoted themselves to the service of their country in a political career and had obtained their chance to enter Parliament by securing, from a great noble, nomination for membership of the House of Commons as representative of a pocket borough. Under a reformed system such men would be unable to compete with the *nouveaux riches* from the industrial north, and there was no ground for assuming that the latter would give better service to the country than the men they displaced. While Parliament was yet unreformed the country had been guided through times of revolution and war in Europe. Whatever mistakes the Tories had made in conducting the wars with France, they had lacked neither patriotism nor determination. It was questionable whether the nation would be ruled as well under a more democratic system.

But, while such arguments might convince the opponents of reform that they ought not to yield without a struggle, the nation as a whole had made up its mind on the question. The general election of 1830, after the accession of William IV, resulted in the return to the House of Commons of a Whig majority pledged to attempt parliamentary reform, and Earl Grey became Prime Minister. In 1831 Lord John Russell, a member of the Government, introduced a Reform Bill in the House of Commons. Opposition came from the Tories, and from members, irrespective of party, whose seats were threatened, and, although the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of one, the Government was defeated when the measure was in committee. (A bill has to pass several stages in each House. Of these the most important are second reading, in which the bill is discussed as a whole, and committee, in which its details are considered.) Grey advised the king to dissolve Parliament. In the new House of Commons there was a large majority for the bill, which passed through all its stages without difficulty.

The struggle was now transferred to the House of Lords, where the bill was defeated on second reading. Popular wrath was manifested in rioting and disorder throughout the country. In 1832 a third attempt was made to carry the bill, and this time the Lords did not venture to reject it on second reading but made alterations in committee. Grey thereupon pressed the king to agree to the creation of sufficient new peers to carry the bill. William was reluctant to do so, and Grey resigned. At the king's request Wellington attempted to form

a ministry, but was unable to do it, since the Whigs were in a majority in the House of Commons. The king recalled Grey, who resumed office on the understanding that, if necessary, new peers should be created. To avert the swamping of the House of Lords with new peers Wellington and a large number of Tories withdrew from the House, and the bill was passed.

By the Reform Act of 1832 extensive changes were made in the distribution of seats and in the franchise. No more was attempted, however, than the removal of the worst anomalies in distribution; no general scheme of representation based on arithmetical principles was evolved. Of towns hitherto represented those with a population of less than two thousand lost their representation in Parliament, and those with more than two thousand but less than four thousand people lost one member. There were fifty-six of the former and thirty-one of the latter, so that one hundred and forty-three seats were available for assignment to populous counties and to towns hitherto unrepresented. The more important English counties were divided into two or three parts, each returning two members. The most populous of the industrial towns received two members each, while others, less important but still considerable, received one member. Eight additional seats were given to Scotland and five to Ireland. It should be observed that, while towns of over four thousand people which had been previously represented retained the right of sending two members to the House of Commons, many places of equal size but of recent growth failed to secure the right to send even one, and that the representation of large towns was not made proportional to population.

The county franchise, hitherto limited to the forty-shilling freeholder, was enlarged by the addition of holders of copyhold land of the annual value of ten pounds and leaseholders of land worth fifty pounds per annum. In the towns a much greater degree of uniformity of franchise was introduced than had existed before. Every householder who occupied a house worth ten pounds per annum received the right to vote. The effect, in town and country, was to entrust the vote to the middle classes, to fairly well-to-do people, but not to the poor.

The working classes, in fact, were disappointed with the results of the Reform Act. Perhaps some of them expected the grant of the vote, which they did not receive. They certainly hoped that the reform of Parliament would lead at

no distant date to the improvement of social conditions, and though something was accomplished in this respect much remained to be done. Wages were still low, employment was still uncertain, the prices of food-stuffs were still high. The discontent of the working classes in the early years of Victoria's reign was voiced in the Chartist movement.

The People's Charter, put forth in 1838, included six points. The Charter demanded a vote for every man, and, in order that every vote should be of the same value, equal electoral districts. If, by the grant of these two points, the common people were enfranchised, they might not be satisfied to be represented in Parliament by wealthy landowners; it was probable that working men would prefer to choose working men as their spokesmen in the House of Commons. But such members, not being in possession of private fortunes, would not be able to leave their work in order to make laws at Westminster unless they were supported, and the Charter further called for the payment of members of Parliament and for the abolition of the property qualification. Finally, that the elections might really reflect the will of the people, voting by ballot and annual Parliaments were included in the Chartist programme.

The Chartist agitation continued for about ten years. In 1848 arrangements were made for a monster procession from Kennington to Westminster to present to the House of Commons a gigantic petition for the granting of the Charter. The Government became alarmed, and a large number of special constables were enrolled. The Duke of Wellington was placed in command of sufficient troops to deal with any contingency. The Chartist meeting was held at Kennington, but the procession did not reach Westminster, and though the petition was taken to the House it was found that many of the signatures were forged. The Chartist movement, therefore, ended in ridicule and ceased to be of importance. It may be observed, however, that most of the demands embodied in the Charter were in themselves not unreasonable, but they were premature. Public opinion has always been against the holding of general elections too frequently, and there has never been any likelihood of the establishment of annual Parliaments. The other five points have been conceded, and in some ways the Chartist demands have been exceeded, for even these reformers did not think of asking for votes for women as well as men.

No further measure of general parliamentary reform was carried until 1867, but in 1858 the property qualification was abandoned, and in the same year, by an alteration in the form of oath which a member was required to take upon admission, it was made possible for persons of Jewish faith to enter the House of Commons.

In 1859 an attempt was made by Disraeli, then leader of the House of Commons, to extend the franchise in certain directions. He proposed to give the right to vote to people who possessed a certain amount of money in the bank and to persons of some education, but these suggestions were regarded as fantastic, and were defeated.

No progress was made with the work of reform while Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister. He was one of the old Whigs who regarded the act of 1832 as a definite settlement of the question. The other branch of the Whig party, under Gladstone, was progressive, and after Palmerston's death, in 1865, a bill for the extension of the franchise was brought forward. It was proposed to give the right of voting to men who paid, in the towns, a rent of seven pounds per annum, or, in the counties, fourteen pounds per annum. The Whig party split on the matter, and the opponents of reform joined with the Conservatives to defeat the measure. The Whigs resigned office, and a Conservative ministry was formed.

In 1867 Disraeli adopted the policy of his opponents and introduced a bill which, after a good deal of amendment, became law. The Second Reform Act extended the franchise to all male householders in towns and to those in the counties whose rental was twelve pounds per annum or more. Lodgers, if they paid as much as ten pounds per annum for unfurnished rooms, were given a vote. A further redistribution of seats took place, and populous towns and counties received the seats which were taken from unimportant boroughs. Scotland and Ireland were dealt with in separate acts passed in 1868. By these acts some further attempt was made to remove outstanding anomalies in representation, but, as in 1832, no general scheme of equality of representation was introduced. The grant of household suffrage in the towns shifted the centre of political power to the working classes, although the agricultural labourer remained without the vote. The act was a step towards democracy, and while, for the time being, members were recruited from the wealthy classes, it was

inevitable that the day would come when the working-class elector would prefer to be represented in Parliament by a man from his own station in life.

The grant of the vote to the artisans was ineffective as a means of ascertaining the will of the people until arrangements could be made for electors to cast their votes secretly and without fear of consequences. In 1872 the Ballot Act was passed. Not only did it enable the elector to vote as he wished, but it assisted to put an end to corruption at elections, for unscrupulous candidates and their agents would not spend money in bribes to voters who might or might not carry out their undertakings. The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883 restated the law, and imposed penalties for bribery, treating, intimidation and impersonation.

In 1884 Gladstone carried through Parliament a Franchise Act, which was followed in 1885 by a Redistribution Act. By the latter, towns with fewer than 15,000 people ceased to send members to Parliament, those with from 15,000 to 50,000 people were represented by one member, and those with between 50,000 and 165,000 by two members. Counties and large towns were split up into single-member constituencies of roughly equal size. Even these arrangements fell short of equality. It will be noticed that, while a town of 16,000 people was entitled to one member, a town of 160,000 was represented by only two. By the Franchise Act household suffrage was extended to the counties, so that the agricultural labourer at last received the vote, and the political system of the country was placed upon a democratic basis.

During the nineteenth century the term "Parliamentary Reform" was applied to the circumstances connected with elections to the House of Commons, and to certain characteristics of the House itself. Early in the twentieth century the relations between the House of Commons and the House of Lords came under discussion, and by the Parliament Act of 1911 the powers of the House of Lords were diminished, though its composition was left untouched. It was deprived altogether of the right to reject or amend a Money Bill, and its power of rejecting other bills was limited and regulated. The maximum duration of Parliament, which, since the Septennial Act of 1716, had been seven years, was reduced to five years. This act was not carried without difficulty, and at one time it seemed likely that the Prime Minister, Mr.

Asquith, would have to advise the king to create five hundred new peers. As in 1832, a large number of peers abstained from voting in order to avert the swamping of the House, and the bill became law.

The act of 1884 left some inequalities of representation which, with the shifting of population, became accentuated in course of time. By the Representation of the People Act of 1918 a redistribution of seats took place on a mathematical basis. Towns and counties were entitled to one member for every 70,000 people, and if, when the population figure was divided by 70,000, the number left over was in excess of 50,000, an additional member was allowed. Thus, a town of less than 50,000 people was not separately represented, a town with between 50,000 and 120,000 people was assigned one member, one whose population was between 120,000 and 190,000 had two members, and so on. The same scale was applied to the counties. The franchise was enlarged by the extension of the vote to women over thirty who were householders or the wives of householders, and, at the same time, women were made eligible for membership of the House of Commons.

The number of women who have secured election to the House of Commons has, so far, not been large, and several of those who have become members have been chosen by constituencies which were formerly represented by their husbands. It is probable, however, that the number of women with seats in the House of Commons will increase substantially in course of time. In Mr. Baldwin's second ministry a woman, the Duchess of Atholl, held a subordinate ministerial post; in Mr. MacDonald's second ministry another woman, Miss Margaret Bondfield, became a member of the cabinet.

Mr. Baldwin in 1928 placed women on an equality with men in the political world by reducing the qualifying age to twenty-one, and, by the removal of various anomalies in the electoral law, gave practically every man and woman in the country a vote.

Parliamentary reform may now be regarded as complete. Redistribution of seats may be needed from time to time, as movements of population occur on an appreciable scale (substantial inequalities have developed since 1918), but further extension of the franchise can hardly be looked for, and it is possible that the tendency of the future may be in the direction of restriction.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ERA OF REFORMS

It has been observed in an earlier chapter that the unsatisfactory conditions under which the working classes of this country lived during the first quarter of the nineteenth century were regarded by many thoughtful people as irremediable. It was believed that any organised effort to improve social conditions would, in the long run, make them worse. A general improvement in the public health, for example, would, by lowering the death-rate, cause an increase in the population, which was already growing rapidly, and the greater competition for employment would bring about a fall in the general rate of wages. An attempt to increase the rate of wages would reduce the amount of capital available for industrial expansion, with the result that men and women would be thrown out of work, and their efforts to secure employment would cause wages to be lowered again.

In course of time, however, there was a reaction against these pessimistic views. A body of "Humanitarians" thought that such theories ought not to pass for ever unchallenged, and that attempts ought to be made to reform social conditions. These people are sometimes called "Tory Humanitarians," but the advocates of reform were not confined to one political party. The leader of the movement was Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, a nobleman of great piety, whose high character inspired great confidence and whose aristocratic position and great wealth dispelled all suspicion that his interest in social problems was inspired by any but the highest motives. Such attempts at reform as were made at this time were merely experimental, and sometimes appeared to be half-hearted. Impatient reformers criticised them on this ground, but the very attempt to improve conditions at all was courageous. The old economic theories were not yet disproved. It was prudent to hasten slowly. A reform was a step in the dark, and if the step was not too big it might

be possible to retract it if the evil results predicted by the economists should appear.

Mention has already been made of the work of Peel in reforming the criminal law and establishing the Metropolitan police, and that of Huskisson in lowering duties and making reciprocity treaties. The political disabilities of Roman Catholics were removed by the Tories in 1829, but the work of social and economic reform proceeded more rapidly after the advent of the Whigs to power in 1830. Their first important measure, the Reform Act of 1832, was political, and was followed by a general election in which a very large majority of Whigs was returned to the House of Commons, while the Tories were reduced in number to a mere handful. When the new House met, in February, 1833, it began with enthusiasm the work of reform.

One of the most important measures of the year was an act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire. Much of the prosperity of Bristol and Liverpool had been built up on the slave trade, which was abolished, so far as this country was concerned, in 1807, and by other countries of Western Europe in 1815. But slavery itself still continued in America and other parts of the world, and the efforts of humanitarians succeeded in 1833 in bringing it to an end within the British Empire. The legal status of slavery ceased, and every slave became technically a free man. But it was ordered that for a number of years the freed slaves should work as apprentices for their former masters. This system did not work well and was abolished a few years later. The sum of £20,000,000 was set aside by Parliament as compensation to the slave-owners for the loss of their property. The parts of the British Empire chiefly affected by the emancipation of the slaves were the West Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. The abolition of slavery ruined the West Indies for generations, since the planters could not compete in the production of sugar with the mainland regions of South America, in which slave labour still existed. In South Africa the abolition was resented by the Dutch farmers, or Boers, and helped to develop the ill-feeling between Dutch and British which has been a feature of the history of the colony. The amount of compensation was said to be inadequate. Claims had to be lodged in London, and as the farmers and planters were thousands of miles away they had to employ

agents in London who received far more in expenses and commission than the slave-owners obtained as compensation. It was the method, rather than the amount, of the payment that was at fault.

The abolition of slavery was one of the greatest reforms ever undertaken by a British Parliament. No advantage was anticipated from it, a large sum of money, which the nation could ill afford, was set aside as compensation, and the economic and social effects of the change were almost certain to be detrimental to the prosperity of the colonies. The reform was carried on moral grounds alone. The nation felt that slavery was an evil thing and that at all costs it must be ended.

The emancipation of the slaves in 1833 was not a mere isolated act; it was an assertion of policy. Much territory has been added to the British Empire since 1833, and in many new possessions slavery has been found to exist. Steps have always been taken to end it as quickly as possible, although the work has often taken some time and has not been accomplished without serious economic disturbance.

A Factory Act was passed in 1833. Three or four acts dealing with child-labour in factories had been passed already, but they had not been very effective in remedying the evils with which they were expected to cope. This act limited the hours of labour of children employed in factories, and required that they should attend school for a part of their time. Factory inspectors were appointed to see that the law was obeyed.

Some attention was given to education. Schools for the children of the poor were already being built, by the National Society and the British Society, in most of the towns and large villages of the country. The believers in *laissez-faire* contended that education should be left in the hands of these and similar bodies, but in 1833 the Government made a grant of £20,000, to be divided between the two societies, to assist in the building of schools. The grant was annual, and was increased to £30,000 per annum in 1839, in which year school inspectors were appointed.

Reform of the poor law was undertaken in 1834. For nearly forty years poor relief had been given to supplement the low wages received by agricultural labourers, and the amount of such relief was made to vary with the size of the labourer's family and with the price of bread. The system had one good feature; it prevented the actual starvation of

the very poor. In every other way it was bad. The workers were pauperised and lost all self-respect, and there was no inducement to them to work harder and secure higher wages. The poor rate was very heavy, in many places exceeding twenty shillings in the pound. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 brought this system to an end. "Outdoor" relief was not to be given except to aged people and those quite unfit to work. The destitute might still obtain parochial relief in order to avoid starvation, but they were compelled to enter the workhouse. This condition made it impossible for a man in receipt of wages to obtain a dole to supplement them, for if he entered the workhouse he lost his employment and his wages. At first the stoppage of the doles inflicted terrible hardships on the poor, but in course of time wages rose to a higher level. The remedy was severe, but necessary, if the rural population was to be preserved from utter and permanent degradation. The act retained the Elizabethan principle that each parish should support its own poor, but ordered the grouping of parishes into unions in order that poor relief might be more efficiently administered. In each union a Board of Guardians was established, the members being elected by the ratepayers of the parishes. The Boards had to manage the business of poor relief, but they had no very wide powers, since most of their decisions were subject to the approval of the Poor Law Commissioners in London. This body was afterwards replaced by the Local Government Board, and, more recently, by the Ministry of Health.

The municipal corporations were corrupt and needed reform. In many towns the councils were close corporations. No elections were held, and the councillors held office for life. When a vacancy occurred the remaining members of the council chose the new member. After the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 all the householders in a town, except the poorest, were entitled to vote at parliamentary elections, and if they were fit to have a voice in the direction of national affairs it was absurd to deny them the right to control the affairs of their own towns. By the Municipal Corporations Reform Act of 1835 the councillors of a town were to be elected by the ratepayers for a period of three years, at the end of which time they were to be eligible for re-election. The measure was criticised by the adherents of the old system, and as a concession to them it was provided that one-fourth of the

members of a council should still be chosen by their colleagues. They were to be known as aldermen, and were to retain their positions for six years. They also were eligible for re-election. The system has worked well in practice. It has been customary in most towns to appoint as aldermen men who have served the town for many years as councillors and who have proved their worth. Aldermen are usually re-elected from time to time until their death or voluntary retirement. Their presence adds dignity to a council and provides some degree of continuity in its work.

In 1836 the registration of births, marriages and deaths was begun. The value of the practice lay in connection with other measures of social reform. Rules for limiting child labour in factories and mines were of little use until the age of a child could be proved. But in course of time it became possible to demand proof, in the form of a birth certificate, of the age of a child who was seeking employment in a factory or mine.

In the same year some changes were made in connection with the finances of the Church of England. The clergy had from time immemorial enjoyed the right to tithes, and the rector of a country parish was accustomed to enter the fields at harvest time and mark off one sheaf of corn out of every ten. These sheaves were removed to the tithe barn and became the parson's property. It was arranged, by the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, that tithe should be paid in money, and that it should be based on the average price of corn for the preceding seven years. The Ecclesiastical Commission was established at this time also. The Commissioners were to be the bishops, with some other prominent personages in the Church. They took control of certain ecclesiastical revenues in order to use them for the advantage of the Church and the spread of religion. It became possible in course of time for farmers to pay their tithe to the Ecclesiastical Commission, which, in turn, paid the parish clergyman.

By the time of the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 the zeal of the Whigs for reform appeared to be exhausted, and in the first three or four years of the new reign little was done, although a penny postage system was established in 1840. But the Anti-Corn Law League, which aimed at bringing about the repeal of the Corn Laws, was founded in 1838 by Richard Cobden, John Bright and Charles Villiers. It was

a league of manufacturers who, in advocating a measure which would cheapen the food of the poor, were not actuated only by humanitarian motives. The cost of food was an element to be taken into account in fixing scales of wages. The factory hand must be given enough to keep him alive. Manufacturers wanted food to be cheap in order that wages might be low. In the general election of 1841 the league met with little success, for a Conservative majority, pledged to a continuance of the Corn Laws, was returned to the House of Commons, and Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister.

The appalling conditions of labour in coal mines led to the passing of the Mines Act in 1842, by which no boy under ten, and no woman or girl, was to be employed in the mines. Two years later a Factory Act strengthened the protection afforded by the act of 1833 to young children and extended it to women. In 1847, after the return of the Whigs to office, a further Factory Act limited the hours of work in factories to ten per day. This was the first act of its kind to apply to men, and it was made more effective by an amending act in 1850.

But the great achievement of Peel's second ministry was the establishment of Free Trade. In the year 1842 a large number of the duties on imported goods, both raw materials and manufactured articles, were removed, and the loss to the revenue was made good by the institution of an income tax. Further remissions of duties were made by Peel in 1845 and by Russell and Gladstone in the following years. The Irish famine of 1845 induced Peel to reconsider the policy of his party towards the Corn Laws. In 1846 he proposed their repeal, and though a large part of the Conservative party revolted against him he carried the repeal with the aid of the Whigs.

By 1850 it was possible to estimate the effect of the reforms, political and social, which had been made during the previous twenty years. The results predicted by the older generation of economists had not come to pass. The people were better off, wages were rising, unemployment had been reduced, and the nation was growing richer. Even agriculture suffered much less from the abolition of the Corn Laws than their advocates had expected. The third quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of continuing and increasing prosperity.

After 1850 little more in the direction of social improvement

was attempted until Gladstone became Prime Minister in 1868. Perhaps it was still felt that it was wise not to go forward too fast. The most pressing questions had been dealt with. Enough had been done for the time being, and the full effect of the reforms which had been already carried ought to be allowed to develop before further progress was attempted.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE AGE OF PEEL AND PALMERSTON

Sir Robert Peel, the son of a Lancashire manufacturer, entered Parliament while still a young man. Before he secured ministerial office he took part in the movement for bringing about the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. In 1822 he became Home Secretary, an office which he held, except during the short premiership of Canning, until 1830.

He proved to be an enlightened and liberal administrator. At that time the criminal law was in need of reform. The penalty of death was inflicted for hundreds of offences which were called "felonies." This excessive severity defeated its own object, for some felonies were of so trivial a character that juries were reluctant to convict persons charged with minor crimes for which the punishment was so terrible. Peel removed more than a hundred offences from the list of capital crimes, and thus began a reform which in a few years left the death penalty applicable to only four crimes—murder, treason, piracy and setting fire to a royal dockyard. In 1829 he established the Metropolitan Police, a well-trained and highly efficient force which was in course of time imitated in all parts of the country.

The dominant political question during the ministry of Wellington was that of Catholic Emancipation. Peel at first opposed the removal of the restrictions, but at length gave way and supported the Roman Catholic Relief Act. By doing so he incurred the enmity of a large section of the Tories, and in the following general election he was defeated at Oxford University, for which he had been member.

The sixty years (1770–1830) of almost unbroken Tory rule came to an end with the accession of William IV, when, on the return of a Whig majority to the House of Commons, Wellington resigned office and Earl Grey became Prime Minister. The Whigs were pledged to the reform of the House of Commons, and carried the first Reform Act in 1832.

A general election followed, as a result of which the Whig party was strengthened and the Tory party much reduced in numbers. But the Whigs were not so strong in Parliament as might be inferred from their numbers, since the party included groups which did not work well with each other. Nevertheless, they carried a number of useful social and political reforms in the next few years.

The Foreign Secretary in the Grey ministry was Lord Palmerston, an Irish peer who was eligible, under the terms of the Act of Union, for a seat in the House of Commons. Palmerston, as a Tory, was Secretary-at-War from 1809 to 1828, but he became attached to the group of Moderate Tories which was prominent in the reign of George IV, and did not hesitate, in 1830, to accept office in a Whig ministry. From 1830 till his death in 1865, with only brief intermissions, he controlled British foreign policy. In July 1830 a revolution occurred in France, as the result of which Charles X lost his throne, and was succeeded by Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. The Belgians, inspired by the example of the French, revolted against the rule of the King of Holland, and it was due to Palmerston's energetic championship of their cause that they were able to secure their independence. Without his assistance it is probable that they would have been either subjugated by the Dutch or dominated by the French. Grey resigned in 1834, and Lord Melbourne carried on the Government for a few months.

With the retirement of Wellington from active political life after the Tory failure to prevent the passage of the Reform Act of 1832, Peel succeeded to the leadership of the party. In November 1834 William IV dismissed the Melbourne ministry. Peel was abroad at the time, and until his return the Duke of Wellington was placed temporarily at the head of the Government. When Peel arrived in England he formed his first ministry and prepared to dissolve Parliament, in which the Tories were in a minority. He realised that the old Tory attitude of opposition to reform would be fatal to the prospects of the party, and he decided to change its name and its programme. He was candidate for Tamworth, and, in an address to the electors of that place, he outlined a scheme of moderate and progressive reform to which he pledged his party, which was henceforth to be known as Conservative. This address, called the Tamworth Manifesto, was circulated

widely throughout the country. Its effect on the election was considerable, and the Conservatives gained many seats, but not enough to give them control in the House of Commons. Peel, therefore, resigned in April, 1835, and Lord Melbourne resumed office.

The second Melbourne ministry was weak from the beginning, and became weaker as time went on. Victoria ascended the throne in 1837, and Melbourne's greatest service to his country consisted in the training and advice which he gave to the young queen. He was defeated in the House of Commons in 1839 and offered to resign. The queen sent for Peel and asked him to form a ministry. There were at court, in attendance upon the queen, certain ladies, known as Ladies of the Bedchamber, who were appointed at the beginning of the reign when the Whigs were in office and who, consequently, were Whig. Peel wished to replace them by Conservative ladies, but Victoria objected, and Peel declined to go on with the formation of a ministry. Melbourne, therefore, resumed office, which he held until 1841. It is probable that the real reason for Peel's action was his belief that the time was not yet ripe for the formation of a Conservative ministry. If he formed a Government and dissolved Parliament, and for the second time failed to obtain a majority, it was probable that his political career would be at an end. He wanted a pretext for avoiding entry upon office and found it in the Bedchamber Question. That this was the true explanation of his attitude seems to be proved by the fact that when he formed a ministry in 1841 he was prepared to treat the posts of Ladies of the Bedchamber as non-political. That his estimate of the position was sound appears from the fact that in the general election of 1841 he secured a majority.

During the second Melbourne ministry Palmerston was again Foreign Secretary, and by his vigorous action at the time of the Syrian War he prevented either Russia or France from becoming predominant in the eastern Mediterranean, and he recovered the influence which Great Britain had formerly exercised in Turkish affairs and which had been lost a few years earlier when Wellington withdrew from the settlement of Greek independence.

In 1841 the Conservatives obtained a definite majority in the House of Commons, and Peel became Prime Minister for

the second time. He had many problems to face. The condition of the working classes, though not quite so bad as it had been twenty years earlier, was still exceedingly unsatisfactory. National finances needed overhauling, Ireland was restless and wars threatened abroad.

The financial affairs of the nation had not been well managed while Melbourne was Prime Minister, for the budget showed a deficit nearly every year. Yet the people suffered under a crushing load of indirect taxation, and an increase of their burden seemed hardly possible. Peel determined to recast the whole system in the interests of trade as well as of national finance. In 1842 he removed the duties from a large number of articles of raw material and of goods wholly or partly manufactured. Such a course necessarily involved heavy sacrifices of revenue, which Peel was confident would ultimately be made good by increased trade. For a year or two, however, a deficit was certain, and Peel proposed to tide over this period of transition by establishing for three years an income tax of sevenpence in the pound on all incomes of more than £150 per annum. It was to be a temporary impost, and its removal was expected when the full benefits of the change of system were experienced. In spite of the new tax there was a substantial deficit in 1843, but in the following year, by which time the effect of the new system was being felt, there was a surplus. In 1845 the time had arrived for the removal of the income tax, but Peel's experiment had justified itself so completely that he decided to extend it by removing a further batch of duties and continuing the tax for a few years longer.

Unrest continued in Ireland, and Daniel O'Connell, the hero of Catholic Emancipation, put himself at the head of a movement known as Young Ireland, which aimed at the repeal of the union and the restoration of a separate Irish Parliament. The movement was checked by the prohibition of a projected meeting at Clontarf and the arrest of O'Connell, and Peel sought to conciliate the Roman Catholic Irish by making an annual grant to Maynooth College, the seminary in which Roman Catholic priests were trained. He also established Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway. These institutions were to be unsectarian, and Peel hoped that the religious antagonism of Catholics and Protestants would diminish if the young people of both religions received a university education side by side. These measures failed of

their purpose. The Protestants objected to the Maynooth Grant, and both parties denounced the "godless colleges."

Peel's efforts at social reform in England met with greater success. The Mines Act of 1842 prohibited the labour of women and of boys under ten in the mines, and the Factory Act of 1844 extended to women the protection, in the matter of hours of work in factories, that had hitherto been limited to young people.

For some years an agitation had been carried on in England for the repeal of the Corn Laws. At the general election of 1841 the Anti-Corn Law League had received little support, and the Conservative majority had been pledged to the continuance of the Corn Law. But Peel gradually came round to the view that corn must be admitted to the country free of duty, since the population had increased to such an extent that an importation of foreign corn was necessary every year. In 1845 famine occurred in Ireland, owing to the failure of the potato crop. Peel announced to his colleagues in the Government that the Corn Law must be suspended, and that, once relaxed, it could never again be enforced. Some of the ministers and many of the rank and file of the Conservative party refused to follow his lead, but the Whigs declared boldly for repeal. In 1846 the measure for the repeal of the Corn Law was carried in the House of Commons, the Free Trade Conservatives, with the help of the Whigs, defeating the Protectionists. In this way was carried the greatest change in British financial and commercial policy which was attempted in the nineteenth century. But Peel's political career was at an end. Though the Whigs had voted for Free Trade they did not continue their support of the Prime Minister, while the Protectionists in his own party, under Lord George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli, continued their opposition. Peel was defeated on the second reading of a bill for the suppression of disorder in Ireland, and resigned office, which he never held again.

He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord John Russell, the leader of the Whigs who had turned him out. He and his followers, putting aside any feeling of personal resentment, supported Russell's Government against the Protectionists, in order that Free Trade might be maintained. It was thus due to the course followed by Peel that Russell was able to continue the work of removing import duties. Until 1850,

the year of his death, Peel remained the greatest personage in the House of Commons.

Peel was a man of high character, held in universal esteem. Twice in the course of his career it had been his fate to split his party. He had opposed Catholic Emancipation for years, but when he saw that he was mistaken he was courageous enough to support it. He had been returned to power in 1841 as a supporter of the Corn Law, but when he saw that protection in industry and agriculture was inconsistent with the best interests of the country he abandoned it. On each of these occasions he failed to retain the undivided support of his party. He was not a good party man, for he placed the interests of the nation before the well-being of the party. He was no mere politician. He was the greatest British statesman in the first half of the nineteenth century.

During the Russell ministry foreign affairs were again under the direction of Palmerston. In 1848 revolutions broke out in several countries of western and central Europe. Louis Philippe passed into exile, and for the second time France became a republic. Metternich, who had been Austrian Chancellor without interruption since the Congress of Vienna, and who had consistently upheld the Holy Alliance and despotic monarchy in Europe, fell from power. Attempts were made in several German and Italian states to secure constitutional government, and the Hungarians under Kossuth tried to free themselves from Austrian rule. Palmerston's attitude to these movements displeased the queen. He was sympathetic with them; she was not. Popular opinion in this country was behind Palmerston, and though he was criticised in the House of Commons he was able to obtain for his policy the approval of the House.

Victoria considered that Palmerston acted without adequately consulting her in the conduct of foreign affairs, and in 1850 she sent to him a Memorandum, in which she required him, before taking action, to inform her precisely of what he proposed to do, and, after she had given her consent, not to change the course of action agreed upon. Palmerston promised to comply with the queen's instructions, but, in fact, took very little notice of them. When Kossuth visited England Palmerston proposed to receive the Hungarian rebel officially, a course of action which must necessarily be offensive to Austria, a country with which Great Britain was on friendly terms. The Foreign

Secretary was with some difficulty restrained by the Prime Minister from receiving Kossuth. In 1851 the second French republic was converted into an empire, its president, Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon I, becoming Emperor of the French as Napoleon III. Palmerston expressed his approval of this step without consulting either his colleagues or the queen. The offence was too flagrant to be overlooked, and Russell demanded his resignation. But his loss seriously weakened the ministry, which was defeated and came to an end in 1852.

The Conservatives now took office with Lord Derby as Prime Minister and Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer, but they had no majority in the House of Commons, since the Peelites were closely associated with the Whigs. The new Government was Protectionist at heart, but Disraeli realised that the Corn Law had gone for ever, and that it was out of the question to attempt to restore it. He accepted a resolution moved in the House of Commons in favour of the maintenance of Free Trade, but the Government was defeated soon after, and resigned.

The Whigs returned to office, this time with Lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister. But Aberdeen's ministry differed from Russell's in that it was a Coalition. Russell had been at the head of a Whig ministry which received the support of the Peelites; Aberdeen formed a cabinet which included Peelites as well as Whigs. The two parties were, in fact, tending to amalgamate, and in course of time they became one, known as the Liberal party. In the Aberdeen ministry the Prime Minister himself, and his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone, were Peelites; the most prominent Whigs in the Government were Russell and Palmerston. It was out of the question for Palmerston to become Foreign Secretary again; Victoria obviously would have raised the strongest objection to his holding that office. He became Home Secretary, but he devoted his whole attention to foreign affairs.

The Aberdeen ministry was occupied with the Crimean War, which broke out in 1854, and was sadly mismanaged. When, in 1855, news of the sufferings of the troops reached home the Government was defeated and forced to resign. An attempt to set up a Conservative Government failed, and the queen reluctantly called upon Palmerston to take office as Prime Minister.

Palmerston's ministry consisted, in the main, of the members

of the Aberdeen Government, although it did not include Lord Aberdeen himself, and, after a short time, a number of the Peelites resigned. But Palmerston carried the war on with vigour and brought it to a successful conclusion. Other wars, with China and Persia, followed, and in 1857 the Indian Mutiny broke out. Palmerston proved equal to the demands upon him. In 1858, however, the French adopted a hostile attitude to this country in consequence of a plot to murder Napoleon III, which had been arranged by some Italians in Great Britain. Palmerston, to conciliate the French, brought in the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, which was denounced in the House of Commons as "truckling to France." The Peelites withdrew their support of the Government, and joined with the Conservatives in defeating it. Palmerston thereupon resigned.

For the second time the Conservatives formed a ministry without a majority in the House of Commons. Derby was again Prime Minister and Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer. The new ministers attempted, without success, to carry a Reform Bill. Upon its defeat, in 1859, they resigned.

Palmerston became Prime Minister again, and held office until his death, in 1865. The cabinet contained Peelites as well as Whigs, and the tendency towards fusion into a single party became more marked. The Whig section, however, led by Palmerston himself, was not in favour of reform, while the Peelite group was desirous of taking up the work of political and social reform which had been in abeyance since 1850. Gladstone was able to carry a few minor proposals, but no great measures were attempted until after Palmerston's death.

During the second Palmerston ministry wars occurred in Europe and North America. Prussia and Austria attacked Denmark and conquered the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. A Danish princess, Alexandra, had just married the Prince of Wales, but the time was past when royal marriages were important as determining national policy. Public sympathy in this country was with the Danes, but the Government remained neutral. In the United States a civil war broke out in 1861 and continued till 1865. The southern states attempted to break away from the Union, and the northern states were determined to prevent the secession. One of the points at issue was the continuance or abolition of negro slavery, and the sympathies of the British people on this matter were with

the north. During the war friction arose with the United States on two points. The *Alabama*, a cruiser built in this country for the southern states, did a good deal of damage to northern shipping before she was sunk, and the northern states resented the laxity of the British Government in not preventing the *Alabama* from putting to sea. On another occasion a British ship, the *Trent*, was carrying two southern envoys to Europe. It was stopped in mid-ocean, and the two men were taken prisoners. Palmerston strongly protested against this breach of international law, and the American president, Lincoln, released the envoys.

Palmerston was the last of the Whigs. He had been a member of Parliament for nearly sixty years. During most of this time he had held ministerial office, and for thirty-five years he had been the controlling influence in British foreign policy. Though he was criticised as being hot-headed, rash, and indifferent to the feelings of other nations, he held a high conception of the position which Great Britain should occupy among the nations of the world. He had no faith in democracy, and was not in favour of political and social reforms. While he lived the reformers were held in check, but a new era began after his death, an era in which the policy of *laissez-faire* was finally abandoned and reforms of all kinds were proposed in Parliament by all parties.

CHAPTER XXIX

INDIA UNDER THE INDIA ACT

PITT's India Act, which became law in 1784, settled the system of government in India for three-quarters of a century. The experience gained in the working of the Regulating Act was used in the framing of the India Act. The functions of the East India Company as trader and as ruler were to be kept separate, and a Board of Control was established in London to supervise the work of the Company in the latter capacity. The President of the Board of Control was usually a cabinet minister. Dispatches were received at India House in London from the Company's officials in the East. Such dispatches as dealt with commercial matters were answered by the directors; those which referred to political matters were passed on to the Board of Control, and instructions with regard to them were given by the Board to the Company. Appointments to posts in the Indian service were still made by the Company, but the approval of the Board of Control was required in the case of nominations to the highest posts. The Governor-General's council was continued, but in 1786 he was given power in emergency to override its decisions and to act upon his own responsibility. The council, therefore, tended to assume a more advisory and less controlling character.

Lord Cornwallis was Governor-General from 1786 to 1793. Apart from the second Mysore War (1790–2), as a result of which Tipu lost some of his territory, the chief event of the rule of Cornwallis was the permanent settlement of Bengal. The land of the province was surveyed and assessed, and an undertaking was given that the assessment would not be increased at any future time. Instead of the tax-collectors demanding a percentage of the crops, the amount to be paid by each man was finally fixed, and any increase in the yield of his land, due to his own industry or to improved methods, was entirely to his advantage. The good faith of the English in India is bound up with the maintenance of the system, but

it offers to the Government no possibility of sharing in the increased prosperity of the province. In course of time land settlements were made in other provinces, but they were subject to periodical revision, usually once in every thirty years.

After an uneventful period of rule by Sir John Shore (1793–8), Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, became Governor-General from 1798 to 1805. He proved to be a great and successful ruler, and he realised the necessity of extending British influence and enlarging British territory. The power of Tipu, who continued to intrigue with the French (he consented to be known as Citizen Tipu), was broken in the third Mysore War (1798–9). His capital, Seringapatam, was stormed, and he was slain. The territory of Mysore was reduced, and the descendant of a former rajah, who had been deposed by Hyder Ali, was enthroned. Wellesley invited some of the native princes to disband their armies and to accept and pay for the protection of the Company. This was done in Hyderabad and in Oudh. At different times during his governorship Wellesley annexed the Doab (between the Ganges and the Jumna), the Carnatic, Rohilkund and Tanjore. The Marathas, however, resisted British power, and an inter-tribal quarrel, in which Sindhia, Holkar and Bhonsla attacked the Peshwar, afforded an opportunity for British intervention. Sir Arthur Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, defeated Sindhia at Assaye and again at Argaum. General Lake captured Delhi, the Mogul capital, and Agra, and won a further victory at Laswaree. Sindhia and Bhonsla submitted, but Holkar continued the war until 1806.

The directors of the Company were much alarmed at the policy of expansion favoured by Wellesley, who was followed by a line of Governors-General who were committed to a policy of non-intervention in native affairs. The directors wanted trade rather than dominion, and there is, perhaps, some excuse for British reluctance to embark upon a forward policy while the whole energies of the nation were engaged in the task of defeating Napoleon.

The Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General from 1813 to 1823, intended to continue the policy of his immediate predecessors, but he was forced by circumstances into taking vigorous action. Wars were undertaken against the Gurkhas of Nepal, and the Pindaris, bands of marauders who periodi-

cally raided the Ganges valley. In 1817–18 a third Maratha War took place, in which the formidable power of these free-booters was crushed, and their confederacy was abolished. Lord Hastings exercised much vigour in the maintenance of order in the territories subject to British rule, and he introduced various reforms.

Lord Amherst, nephew of the Amherst famous as the first British Governor of Canada, ruled from 1823 till 1828. As a result of the first Burmese War (1824–6), Assam was annexed.

Lord William Bentinck (1828–35) introduced several valuable reforms. The Thugs, bands of murderers infesting Indian roads, who associated their proceedings with the worship of the goddess Kali, were exterminated. The practice of Suttee, the burning of widows on the funeral-pyres of their husbands, was forbidden. Indians were admitted into the Company's civil service. Native education was encouraged, and news-papers were allowed to appear without censorship. The Company, which had lost its monopoly of Indian trade in 1813, entirely ceased to trade in 1833, and became a Govern-ment department, subject to the Board of Control.

The problem of the north-west frontier arose in the time of Lord Auckland (1836–41). Russian aggression was feared, and it was thought desirable to extend British influence over Afghanistan, in order to forestall the Russians. Disaster was experienced, however, in the first Afghan War (1837–43) and an Ameer friendly with Russia was left on the throne.

The Sikh Wars occurred during the governorships of Lords Hardinge and Dalhousie, and the Punjab was ultimately annexed. Henry and John Lawrence did excellent work in establishing order in the Punjab. Roads were constructed, Thuggee was stamped out, a land assessment was made, and irrigation works were begun. Dalhousie introduced several important reforms into India, and in his time a railway was begun between Calcutta and Delhi. He put forward the doctrine of lapse, by which, upon the extinction of a native ruling family, the native state lapsed to British rule. The principle of the doctrine of lapse was similar to that of escheat, a feudal practice in the Middle Ages. In this connection Dalhousie refused to recognise the right of native princes to adopt heirs, a prevalent custom in the East. Consequently, the application of the doctrine of lapse was very unpopular.

In 1856 Dalhousie was succeeded as Governor-General by

Lord Canning, and in the following year the Indian Mutiny broke out. Many circumstances contributed to bring about a native rising against the British. The Company's army in India was too small, and defeats in the Afghan War had led

INDIA, 1784–1858

to a lowering of British prestige and a feeling that British rule was passing away. It is probable that superstitious natives thought that the expulsion of the westerners might be accomplished exactly a century after the Battle of Plassey. The religious prejudices of the sepoys were aroused. They were expected to bite off the ends of cartridges which were, it was

believed, greased with pig's fat or cow's fat. To the Mohammedan the former was unclean; to the Hindu the latter was sacred. Western reforms were introduced too rapidly by governors from Bentinck to Dalhousie. Eastern ways of thought had not been considered sufficiently. It had been assumed that the natives would welcome western ideas. It was not realised that western notions of progress made no appeal to the native mind, which regarded dignity and leisure, respect and contemplation, as preferable to the acquisition of wealth and the increase of material comforts. Finally, the application of Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse embittered such men as Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the Rajah of Sattara, whose rights of succession were disregarded.

The mutiny was not a general uprising against British rule. It was little more than a revolt of sepoys, and was limited for the most part to the Ganges valley and Oudh. Beginning at Meerut, it spread to other garrisons, and a massacre of English occurred at Cawnpore. Lucknow was besieged, but was relieved, and with the capture of Delhi the mutiny collapsed.

The lessons of the mutiny were of some value. It caused the ruling race to reconsider the whole system of Indian government. Future rulers of India were more considerate of native prejudices, and efforts were made to introduce reforms in such a way as to arouse the minimum of antagonism. The Indians realised that they had under-estimated British strength, and that British rule would not easily be overthrown.

In 1858 the East India Company was abolished by Act of Parliament. The land passed under the direct sovereignty of Queen Victoria, and a new era in Indian history began.

CHAPTER XXX

THE EASTERN QUESTION

EUROPEAN statesmen in the nineteenth century were faced with a group of problems arising out of the decay of the Turkish Empire. The Ottoman Turks, in the prime of their strength, ruled over Tripoli, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula. At one time they advanced to the very walls of Vienna, and though they failed to capture it they were for a long time a serious menace to Austrian territories. During the eighteenth century their power declined, and the revolt of one province after another during the nineteenth century seemed to indicate that their empire was falling to pieces.

As early as 1774 Russia had, by the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji, secured recognition from the sultan as the protector of the Christian populations within the Turkish Empire. It was by virtue of this treaty, as well as on grounds of common humanity, that Russia claimed the right to intervene in the War of Greek Independence. Other powers, however, were unable to regard Russian action in the Balkans as disinterested, and viewed any attempt by the Tsar to champion the cause of oppressed peoples in the south-east of Europe as a move in the policy of securing an outlet to the Mediterranean. Turkish rule in the Balkans was characterised by occasional outbursts of barbaric savagery upon the unfortunate Christian peoples within the Ottoman borders. The sympathy of the nations of Europe was with the oppressed, but so long as Russia was willing to take up arms on their behalf the statesmen of western and central Europe were prepared to support the Turkish Empire as a barrier against Russian advance. The problem which Europe was called upon to solve was that of obtaining for the small Christian nations relief from Turkish misrule without sanctioning an extension of Russian influence, and it was complicated by the jealousies and suspicions existing

among the great powers, and, later, by similar feelings among the Balkan nations.

This group of problems, dealing with lands and peoples from the Danube to the Nile, is commonly referred to as the Eastern Question. It should not be confused with the Far Eastern Question, which is concerned with matters arising during the nineteenth century out of the awakening of Japan and China to the influences of European civilisation, matters in which also Russia was interested.

Through the withdrawal of Great Britain, under Wellington, from the settlement of Greek affairs, Russia scored a diplomatic triumph in bringing about Greek independence. Not long afterwards, Mehemet Ali, the Turkish viceroy of Egypt, took up arms against the sultan and overran Syria and Asia Minor. To prevent Constantinople from falling into the pasha's hands the sultan appealed for Russian help, which was given, and in return he agreed to the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which, in the event of war, the Dardanelles were to be closed to the warships of all nations except Russia. By this arrangement Russian vessels, in any future war, would be permitted to emerge from the Black Sea and operate in the Mediterranean, and, if necessary, they could withdraw into the Black Sea without fear of pursuit. Great Britain, France and Austria protested, but without avail.

Mehemet Ali invaded Syria a second time in 1839, and France, under Louis Philippe and his minister Thiers, backed the ambitious Egyptian. Palmerston, who was at this time Foreign Secretary, realised that, in the absence of British intervention, a Turkish victory would further extend Russian influence over the crumbling empire, while an Egyptian victory would go far towards establishing that French influence in Egypt and Syria which was threatened forty years earlier and which was destroyed by Nelson at the battle of the Nile. He decided, by backing Turkey, to deprive Russia of that accession of power which she would have gained if she had been allowed to act by herself. Russia could hardly refuse the proffered assistance of other powers, and a Quadruple Alliance of Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria was formed in 1840 to effect a settlement of the question by offering terms to Mehemet Ali and compelling him to accept them. Backed by the French, the Pasha refused, but Acre was

captured and the Egyptians were driven out of Syria. By the Treaty of London in 1841 Mehemet Ali was compelled to renounce his claim to Syria, and in return his position as hereditary Pasha of Egypt, under only the nominal overlordship of the Sultan, was guaranteed by the powers. Finally, in 1842, a further agreement was reached that the Dardanelles were to be closed to the warships of all nations, so that the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi ceased to be effective.

There seems to be no good ground for the criticism of Palmerston's action in the Syrian War which was called forth at the time. Had he withdrawn, as Wellington did in 1828, the position of either France or Russia in the eastern Mediterranean would have been strengthened. Palmerston's intervention prevented either power from unduly extending its influence, and the Sultan learned to rely for protection upon Great Britain rather than upon Russia. France was isolated, and relations between that country and Great Britain were strained for some time.

The course of events in Egypt since 1841 has not been bound up with Turkish history, and will be dealt with in another chapter. No further development of the Eastern Question occurred for several years, and during this period the Tsar, Nicholas I, attempted, without much success, to reach a better understanding with Great Britain. He visited this country in 1844 and hinted at the possibility of a partition of Turkish dominions. Some years later, in conversation with the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, he referred to Turkey as the "sick man of Europe." His metaphor implied the necessity of making arrangements for the disposal of the sick man's possessions after his death; British ministers were of opinion that the illness was not incurable, or, at least, that death might be postponed for a long time. The Tsar suggested that Great Britain should seize Egypt, and either Crete or Cyprus, while Russia established subject principalities in the Balkans, but he failed to allay British suspicions or to change the course of British policy.

Between the settlement of the Syrian Question in 1841 and the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854 the Tsar had thus made two distinct attempts to arrive at an understanding with Great Britain with a view to effecting a permanent settlement of the Eastern Question. His good faith can hardly be called

in question. He probably thought that the combination of Russian military strength with British naval power would be sufficiently formidable to induce other powers to accept a settlement backed so strongly. It is at least arguable that British ministers were unwise to reject his overtures outright. The Turks deserved no consideration, and an agreement might have been reached which would have rendered the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 unnecessary. Russia and Great Britain would have become firm allies, and Russian predominance in the Balkans need not have been prejudicial to British interests. Moreover, it is to be observed that the present-day position of the Eastern Question bears a striking similarity to the solution suggested by the Tsar.

Disputes in Palestine between the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church and those of the Greek Orthodox Church brought the Eastern Question to the forefront again, and led ultimately to the Crimean War. The point at issue appeared to be petty. The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem was used by both groups of clergy. Both sides possessed keys of the church, but while the Greeks held the key of the great door the Latins had the key of a side door only and, for the sake of maintaining equality of right, claimed a key of the great door also. Their cause was championed by France, which was now for the second time an empire, under the rule of Napoleon III, who wished to strengthen his position at home by winning the cordial support of the Catholic party. Napoleon, by his ambassador at Constantinople, demanded for the Roman Catholic clergy a key of the great door of the Church of the Nativity.

The Russian ambassador at Constantinople, Menshikov, opposed the French demand, but Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador, supported it, and the Sultan, in fear of Russian aggression, conceded Napoleon's claim, and refused a Russian demand for recognition as the protector of the Greek Christians who were subject to Turkey. (There had been a vague recognition in the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji, but the Tsar wished it to be more definite.) Menshikov left Constantinople in 1853, and preparations were made for war.

Russian troops invaded Moldavia and Wallachia (modern

Roumania), and the British and French fleets proceeded to Turkish waters. An attempt by Austria and Prussia to

BEFORE 1829

AFTER THE TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE, 1829

AFTER THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1856

AFTER THE TREATY OF BERLIN, 1878

restrain Russia by peaceful representations failed, and the Russian fleet destroyed a Turkish squadron at Sinope. British and French fleets passed through the Dardanelles into the

Black Sea, and troops were massed at Varna to prevent Russian advance. But the Turks stubbornly defended their territory, and the Tsar, fearing lest Austria should join with the other powers and attack his troops on the flank, withdrew them beyond the Pruth and abandoned the two provinces. At the same time the Black Sea fleet withdrew to Sebastopol, a fortress on the shore of the Crimean Peninsula.

The object of the war, the expulsion of the Russians from Turkish territory, was thus gained, but Great Britain and

After the Treaty of Bucharest, 1913

After the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923

France decided, before withdrawing their forces, to destroy Sebastopol. The British army, under Lord Raglan, and the French, under Marshal St. Arnaud, landed in the Crimea in 1854, and defeated a Russian force at the Battle of the Alma. If an immediate attack had been launched against Sebastopol it is probable that it would have succeeded, as the fortifications were not complete. But Raglan's advice to attack was overruled by St. Arnaud, and Sebastopol was besieged. Battles occurred at Balaclava and Inkerman—ding-dong, hand-to-hand fights, remarkable for the bravery of the troops and the blunders of their leaders. The siege of Sebastopol continued during the winter, and the soldiers suffered terribly

from sickness, cold, and lack of supplies. The privations of the men were made known to the British public through the columns of *The Times*, and public indignation was reflected in the House of Commons, where the Aberdeen Government was defeated and Palmerston became Prime Minister. A nursing service was organised under the direction of Miss Florence Nightingale, who did noble work at the base hospital at Scutari. Under the direction of Palmerston conditions improved, and towards the end of the summer of 1855 the Russians evacuated Sebastopol. It fell into the hands of the allies, and its fortifications were destroyed.

Nicholas died in 1855 and was succeeded by Alexander II. In the spring of that year negotiations for peace had been opened, but no agreement had been reached. Further overtures were made after the fall of Sebastopol, and in 1856 the Treaty of Paris was signed. It contained no reference to the trivialities which, nominally, had caused the war, but it attempted to reach a settlement of the Eastern Question. Conquests made during the war were to be restored, but the Russians undertook not to refortify Sebastopol. The Dardanelles were to be closed to the warships, and open to the trading vessels, of all nations, and neither Russia nor Turkey was to keep a fleet in the Black Sea. Three Turkish provinces — Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia — were made practically independent of Turkey, the Sultan retaining only nominal overlordship. Great Britain opposed a suggestion that Moldavia and Wallachia should be united, but they chose the same ruler, and in 1862 they united, forming the state of Roumania.

The Treaty of Paris thus attempted to solve the problem of freeing Christian peoples from Turkish oppression without permitting Russia to advance in the Balkans. The policy of the powers henceforth was to erect Turkish provinces into independent or semi-independent states which should look to Europe as a whole, and not to Russia only, for protection, and to do this without weakening the Turkish Empire too much.

No further development of the Eastern Question occurred during the next fifteen years. In 1871, however, France, one of the signatories of the Treaty of Paris, was decisively defeated by Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War and was forced to

accept humiliating terms of peace. Russia thereupon announced that she would no longer be bound by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, and, as France was in no condition to make effective protest, Great Britain was compelled either to make war upon Russia by herself to uphold the agreement or to acquiesce in its abandonment. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, chose the latter course, and Russia began to build a Black Sea fleet.

The question became acute again in 1875. Risings occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Austria and Great Britain demanded reforms from the Sultan. The unrest spread, in 1876, to Bulgaria, where a massacre of many thousands of the Bulgars by the Turks took place. Public opinion in this country was deeply stirred, and Gladstone, then in opposition, made a series of speeches in which he called upon the Government to co-operate with other powers in expelling "the unspeakable Turk," "bag and baggage," from Europe. Meanwhile, Serbia and Montenegro had taken up arms against the Sultan, whose troops gained an easy victory over them. In 1877, however, Russia made war upon Turkey. The chief event of the fighting was the heroic defence of Plevna by Osman Pasha against the equally heroic attack by Todleben. After the fall of Plevna the Russians marched towards Constantinople, and the Sultan was forced to accept the terms offered by Russia in the Treaty of San Stefano. This provided for the establishment of a large independent Bulgar state extending from the Danube to the Ægean.

British ministers considered that the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano were too favourable to Russia, and that they ought to be modified. Some preparations were made for war, but the Russian attitude was conciliatory, and agreement was reached between the two powers. A congress was held at Berlin, under the presidency of Bismarck, the German Chancellor, but its work was simple, since the main points at issue had been settled by negotiation before it opened.

By the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, the new state of Bulgaria was reduced in size, the part south of the Balkans being left in the Turkish Empire. It was to be known as Eastern Roumelia, and was to be under the rule of a Christian governor appointed by the Sultan. Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania were given complete independence, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under Austrian rule. Various frontier modifications

were agreed upon, and Great Britain received the island of Cyprus.

The arrangements made at Berlin in 1878 have been the subject of much criticism. When the British representatives, Disraeli (by this time Earl of Beaconsfield) and Lord Salisbury, returned home the Prime Minister declared that they had obtained "peace with honour." It is to be presumed that Disraeli, by this phrase, meant that British interests in the East had been maintained and that war with Russia had been averted. In the light of subsequent events it is doubtful if the settlement can be regarded as satisfactory. The Russian design to work through the Balkans, directly over the ruins of Turkey, or indirectly through vassal states carved out of Turkey, to the Mediterranean, was checked. But the Russian efforts to expand merely changed their direction. Since 1878 attempts have been made to extend Russian influence in Asia —towards the Far East, in Manchuria, and towards the south, in Persia and Afghanistan. The antagonism of Great Britain and Russia over the Eastern Question has, in fact, been diverted and continued over the Far Eastern Question.

Yet it is difficult to suggest any alternative policy which might have been followed by British ministers in 1878. The opportunity for co-operation with, instead of opposition to, Russia had occurred a generation earlier and had not been seized. The bag and baggage policy (the expulsion of the Turks from Europe) advocated by Gladstone appealed to the feelings of the people, but was hardly consistent with the traditions of British statecraft in the nineteenth century. It may be doubted, moreover, whether the sick man was at the point of death; he showed, at Plevna, that he retained a good deal of vigour; and though the joint efforts of the powers might, and probably would, have been sufficient to bring about the fall of Constantinople and the end of the Turkish Empire in Europe it is certain that Russia would have been the gainer.

Between 1894 and 1896 Europe was startled by news of fresh Turkish outrages, this time upon the Armenians in Asia Minor. British action was threatened in aid of the oppressed people, but Lord Salisbury, who became Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary at this time, refused to move alone, lest at some other time Russia should claim a similar

right to intervene in Turkish affairs. The Turks contended that they were merely suppressing a revolutionary outbreak, which any civilised Government was entitled to do. The Sultan made promises of reforms, but nothing was done, and it must be admitted that on this occasion Great Britain, by remaining passive, permitted political to outweigh humanitarian considerations.

A Cretan revolt against Turkish rule broke out in 1896, and for a time Greek help was received. The real object of the Greeks was to annex Crete, but the powers intervened. The Sultan was compelled to grant Cretan independence, subject to nominal Turkish overlordship, but the Greeks refused to withdraw, and the British fleet blockaded Crete. War broke out between Greece and Turkey, in which the latter was victorious, and, by the peace which followed, the Greeks were compelled to withdraw from Crete, whose autonomy was recognised.

The more recent developments of the Eastern Question may be passed over briefly. In 1908 a revolution occurred in Turkey, and the "Young Turk" party secured the assent of the Sultan to the establishment of a constitution. In the same year Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria renounced the nominal sovereignty of Turkey, which had existed since 1878. For a short time there was danger of a European war, but the crisis passed. A war between Italy and Turkey in 1911 resulted in the conquest of Tripoli by the Italians.

In 1911 the Balkan states overcame their distrust of one another sufficiently to form a League which declared war on Turkey. Victories were gained, and the allies almost reached Constantinople. But quarrels arose over the division of the spoils, and when peace was made the Turks retained their capital.

In November, 1914, Turkey entered the European War as an ally of the central powers, and Great Britain announced the withdrawal of her objection to the Russian conquest of Constantinople. A revolution occurred in Russia, however, in 1917, and a Bolshevik government was established, which made peace early in 1918. By the Treaty of Lausanne, between Great Britain and Turkey, which was not concluded until 1923, Turkey was allowed to retain Constantinople and certain

of her provinces in Asia Minor. The seat of government is now at Angora. Turkey has been a republic since 1923, and has, at least outwardly, adopted European ways. European dress is worn, women go about unveiled, men and women alike exercise the franchise, religious toleration is proclaimed, and the Latin alphabet is used in place of the old Turkish script. It is for the future to show whether these changes in externals denote in the Turk a change of heart.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE AGE OF DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

Upon the death of Palmerston in 1865 Russell, who was now Earl Russell, became Prime Minister for the second time. Gladstone became Leader of the House of Commons, a post he had not hitherto filled, since Lord Palmerston had been a member of the Commons. Gladstone began the new era by introducing a bill for parliamentary reform, but a number of Whigs who shared Palmerston's dislike of reform joined with the Conservatives in opposing the measure, which was defeated.

The second Russell ministry thereupon resigned, and for the third time the Earl of Derby became Prime Minister with Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of a House of Commons which contained a hostile majority. In 1867 Disraeli succeeded where Gladstone had failed; he carried a Reform Act through Parliament. Twenty years earlier, when Peel became a convert to Free Trade, Disraeli twitted him with "catching the Whigs bathing and stealing their clothes"; the phrase might now be applied to Disraeli himself. The bill was altered a good deal in its passage through Parliament, for, in order to avoid defeat, the Government was forced to accept many of the suggestions of the opposition. Early in 1868 Derby resigned on account of ill-health, and Disraeli became Prime Minister. Before many weeks had elapsed he suffered defeat in the House of Commons, and, although the general election was delayed for a few months, it went decisively against him. The Liberals were returned with a majority of a hundred and twenty in the House of Commons, and Gladstone, who had been a member since 1833 and a minister from time to time since 1841, became Prime Minister.

While Palmerston lived he had restrained the enthusiasm of his party for reform. Under Gladstone the name of Whig, which had been a familiar term in English politics for

two centuries, was dropped, and its discontinuance indicated the entire abandonment of the old Whig dislike for reform. The period following the passage of the second Reform Act was similar to that which succeeded the Reform Act of 1832 in that a number of important measures, some of them long overdue, were passed through Parliament. In 1869 the Irish Church was disestablished and disendowed, and the anomaly of the existence of a State Church which represented a mere fraction of the people in Ireland, but to which all Irish landowners had to pay tithe, was ended. In 1870 the Elementary Education Act laid the foundation of a national system of education. It was the logical sequel of the parliamentary Reform Act of 1867, for if the new voters remained illiterate they would not be fitted to take an interest in and pass judgment on political affairs. There was, in fact, a feeling among politicians that "we must educate our masters." Gladstone in the same year passed the first of a series of acts for dealing with the Irish land question.

In 1871 the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which had hitherto been close preserves of the Church of England, were thrown open to Nonconformists. Until this time any one who took a degree at either university was compelled to declare his assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. This requirement was now abandoned.

Army reforms occupied the attention of the Government for a time. The short service system, which was introduced in 1871, permitted men who did not wish to pass their lives in the army to join it for a short term of service and then to pass into a reserve which might be called out only in time of war. In 1872 the abolition of the sale and purchase of commissions was the first step towards improvement in the professional efficiency of army officers. The Trade Unions Act of 1871 legalised these organisations for all purposes, and the Ballot Act of 1872 secured secrecy at elections.

The Gladstone ministry was not popular. To judge by the number and variety of the reforms which it put forward it should have received the support of very large sections of the people. But the effect was exactly the opposite. By most of these measures some group was offended or adversely affected, and several of his acts lost for Gladstone more votes than they gained. Churchmen disliked the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the opening of Oxford and Cambridge

to Dissenters, who, in their turn, were dissatisfied with the provisions of the Elementary Education Act relating to religious instruction in schools. The upper classes disapproved of the abolition of army purchase and the legalisation of trade unions, the members of which were not satisfied with certain clauses in the act of 1871. It was generally felt, moreover, that Gladstone had failed in his foreign policy. Russia had renounced the Treaty of Paris, and the United States had succeeded against this country in an arbitration case relating to the *Alabama*. Gladstone's financial policy, however, had been markedly successful. Reforms cost money; yet the Prime Minister had insisted upon rigid economy in public affairs and had reduced the income tax to threepence in the pound, bringing it within sight of extinction. Yet at the general election, the first after the passing of the Ballot Act, the Liberals were decisively defeated, and, for the first time since 1841, a clear Conservative majority was secured.

In 1874 Disraeli became Prime Minister for the second time. This was the first occasion, however, that he had held any ministerial office with a majority behind him in the House of Commons. By this time he was better understood than in his earlier years, when his strange personality had inspired mistrust rather than confidence. During the six years of his premiership a number of useful acts were passed, many of them being of a permissive character. The passing of "adoptive" acts has proved a useful device in connection with the forwarding of reforms. An adoptive act is one which a local council is at liberty to enforce if it so chooses, but which it may disregard if it prefers to do so. A compulsory reform often arouses much opposition, which is not directed against a measure which is optional. If such an act is adopted in a few places and proves a failure no great harm is done; if it turns out to be a success where it is enforced it can be adopted elsewhere, it can be amended in the light of the experience gained, and it may, perhaps, be made universal and compulsory.

Disraeli assisted in the settlement of the Eastern Question at Berlin in 1878, after the Russo-Turkish War, bringing back with him, as he claimed, "peace with honour." He was interested in imperial matters, especially in connection with India. In 1875 the Egyptian Khedive, Ismail, sold his shares in the Suez Canal Company, and Disraeli, on behalf of the British Government, without waiting for the sanction of

Parliament, bought them. In this way Great Britain obtained a controlling interest in the canal, which is a vital link in the chain of communication with India. In 1877 Queen Victoria, by the advice of Disraeli, assumed the title of Empress of India, and though this act was criticised and laughed at it has probably been of no small importance in securing the loyalty of Indian princes and peoples. It was to be expected that men of oriental stock would be more loyal to a personal sovereign than to a Government office, and Disraeli, himself a descendant from an oriental race, was likely to understand this. Disraeli became Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876. He was defeated at the general election of 1880, and resigned office. He died in 1881.

Gladstone returned to office in 1880. In his second ministry his attention was occupied mainly elsewhere than in Great Britain. In South Africa trouble between Boers and British, which had been gathering for some years, culminated in the battle of Majuba Hill, in which British troops were defeated. Reinforcements were sent out to strengthen the British position in South Africa, but, before any further operations were undertaken, Gladstone recognised Boer independence in the Transvaal. In Egypt, too, Gladstone inherited a problem which had been growing more and more troublesome for some years. The disorder of Egyptian finances had led to the establishment of the Dual Control by Great Britain and France in 1879, but an attempt by Arabi Pasha, in 1882, to expel the foreigners was resisted by the British alone, and it was followed by an occupation of the country and of its southern province, the Sudan. Withdrawal from the Sudan was ordered by the Government at home, but General Gordon, sent to supervise the evacuation, was murdered by Dervishes, the fanatical inhabitants of the province. An expedition sent to relieve Gordon arrived at Khartum one day too late. Such events as those which occurred in South Africa and Egypt told strongly against the popularity of the Government.

Meanwhile, Gladstone made further efforts to conciliate the Irish by passing the second Irish Land Act in 1881. This was followed, in 1882, by the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke in Phœnix Park, Dublin, and Gladstone passed a Coercion Act, for the suppression and swift punishment of crime in Ireland, which earned for him the hostility of the Irish members in the House of Commons.

The third Reform Act, which extended the franchise to the agricultural labourers, was passed in 1884, but in 1885 Gladstone's Government was defeated and resigned. Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister and held office for a short time during which an act was passed to enable Irish tenants to purchase their farms. The general election in November resulted in a tie between parties, if the Irish continued to oppose the Liberals. Early in 1886 Salisbury resigned, and Gladstone became Prime Minister for the third time.

He now attempted to solve the Irish problem by granting Irish demands. He announced himself to be a convert to Home Rule, and the Irish members henceforth supported him. But he failed to carry his own party with him completely, and a section, known as Liberal Unionists, broke away. A Home Rule Bill, for the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament, was introduced into the House of Commons, and was defeated by three hundred and forty-three votes to three hundred and thirteen, in the largest division which has ever been recorded in the House. The Government appealed to the country, but the Conservatives were victorious at the general election, and Gladstone resigned office.

Lord Salisbury's second ministry, which began in 1886, lasted for six years. The Liberal Unionists who had defeated Gladstone supported the Government, but only one of them, Mr. Goschen, accepted office. The period was not eventful. Disorder continued for some time in Ireland, but was put down firmly under the rule of Mr. Arthur Balfour as Chief Secretary. A new Land Act was passed, in view of the experience gained from the working of the earlier acts. In 1887 the jubilee of Queen Victoria, who for many years had rarely appeared in public, was celebrated, and was made the occasion for a great manifestation of loyalty throughout the British Empire. In 1888 an important step was taken towards the reorganisation of local government by the establishment of county councils.

The Salisbury ministry lost popularity in its later years, and at the general election of 1892 it was placed in a minority, though it did not resign until it was defeated in the new Parliament. Gladstone assumed office as Prime Minister for the fourth time, and introduced his second Home Rule Bill in the following year. The bill, which differed in important

respects from its predecessor, passed through the House of Commons, but was rejected in the House of Lords by four hundred and nineteen votes to forty-one, the largest majority ever recorded in a division of the Upper House. The Liberals raised an outcry against the Lords, and an agitation was begun which was to culminate nearly twenty years later in limitations being imposed upon the right of the Lords to reject measures passed by the Commons.

Gladstone resigned in 1894 on account of old age, and his place as Prime Minister was taken for a year by his Foreign Secretary, Lord Rosebery. In the House of Commons the Government was led by Sir William Harcourt, but there were deep divisions of opinion within the Liberal party. Some useful measures were carried, one of them being for the completion of the scheme of local government by the establishment of parish councils. Harcourt's budgets, in which substantial increases were made in death duties, mark the beginning of a new era in national finance. But the Government majority was steadily diminishing, and in 1895 it suffered defeat in the House of Commons, and resigned. Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister for the third time, and formed a ministry in which several Liberal Unionists accepted office. At the general election the new Government secured a majority of over a hundred and fifty.

The Conservative ministry continued in office, first under Salisbury, and, after 1902, under Balfour, less on account of its merits or its brilliance than because of the weakness of its opponents. The friendlessness of Great Britain abroad was demonstrated in various parts of the world. A dispute between this country and Venezuela about the boundaries between this South American republic and British Guiana nearly brought about a war between Great Britain and the United States. The reconquest of the Sudan in 1898 was followed by friction with France over the Fashoda incident. The Jameson raid, in South Africa, accentuated the unfriendliness of the Boer republics towards Great Britain, which led to the South African War of 1899–1902, and the conquest of the republics. The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, however, in 1897, afforded an opportunity for another manifestation of national and imperial loyalty to the Crown, and the presence of colonial premiers in London enabled them to meet and talk over matters of common interest, and this

meeting developed in course of time into a regular Imperial Conference. In 1900 the Australian Commonwealth Act was passed, giving effect to the desire of the six colonies to be federated. This was the last important act to receive the royal assent from Victoria, who died in January, 1901, full of years, and deeply mourned.

CHAPTER XXXII

TWENTIETH-CENTURY POLITICS

When Edward VII became king, in 1901, Lord Salisbury was Prime Minister. He was an old man, but he continued to hold office until after the conclusion of the South African War, which was reached in May, 1902. It was his intention to resign after the new king's coronation, which was arranged to take place in June, 1902, but the sudden and serious illness of King Edward caused a postponement of that event, and Salisbury resigned in July, 1902. Mr. Arthur Balfour became Prime Minister, and carried on the Government until the end of 1905.

The foreign policy of the Balfour ministry was characterised by an abandonment of the isolation of Great Britain which had existed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Great Britain and France had not been at war since the Battle of Waterloo, and in the Crimean War, the one European war in which this country was involved, she had fought in alliance with France. Yet the two countries were not friendly. Many small causes of friction existed, and occasionally war threatened. A definite attempt was made to clear up these matters and to bring about a better understanding. Popular opinion attributed the success of the effort to the personal intervention of King Edward, who was well known and very popular in France. To what extent popular opinion was correct it is impossible to state. It is certain that the king did not overstep the bounds of constitutional propriety; the negotiation of treaties and the making of agreements are matters for ministers and not for kings. But it is probable that in many ways he assisted the negotiations, his long experience of public life and his personal popularity with the French people contributing to their success. The Anglo-French Convention of 1904 settled various matters which had been in dispute between the two countries. France at last recognised the British position in Egypt; Great Britain recognised the French position in Morocco. The vexed question of the French fishing rights

in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was settled, and territorial adjustments were made in various parts of the world. The better understanding between the two countries developed into an Anglo-French Entente, and in 1907 a convention with Russia, which settled outstanding points of difference with that country, made possible the formation of a Triple Entente of Great Britain, France and Russia. The Entente was not a formal alliance, but it was an indication of friendliness which might, and did, develop into an alliance in later years.

The most important legislative enactment passed by the Balfour Government was the Education Act of 1902, which abolished the school boards set up by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, and transferred to county councils and town councils the responsibility for the direction of public education. An important feature of the act was the recognition of public secondary education, in consequence of which municipal and county secondary schools were established. Nonconformists took strong exception, however, to the provisions of the act relating to religious instruction in schools. An attempt to carry the Irish question a stage nearer solution was made when the Irish Land Purchase Act was passed; it arranged for loans to be granted to Irish tenants who wished to buy their farms.

One of the most prominent members of the cabinet was Joseph Chamberlain, who in 1903 propounded a policy which he called Tariff Reform, and which was, in substance, a reversal of Free Trade. Chamberlain proposed that British industries should be protected by the imposition of duties on imported manufactured goods, and that British agriculture should be assisted by the establishment of a duty on imported wheat. In both branches of this programme colonial products were to receive a preference—goods from the colonies were to be taxed at a lower rate or were to be admitted free of duty. Chamberlain resigned from the Government in order to be free to carry on in the country a campaign to further his proposals. But the unity of the Conservative party was destroyed. It contained a section of out-and-out protectionists, it included convinced free traders, and between these were groups of various shades of opinion. Other circumstances contributed to the unpopularity of the Government. Its policy of sanctioning the introduction of Chinese indentured labour into the gold mines in the Transvaal was characterised

by its opponents, in the course of political controversy, as "Chinese slavery." The Government resigned in December, 1905, and at the general election of January, 1906, the Conservatives suffered one of the severest defeats in modern political history, only about one hundred and fifty Conservative members being returned to the new Parliament.

The Parliament of 1906 contained a large majority of Liberals over all other parties, and it was noteworthy as being the first Parliament to contain a Labour party of appreciable size. The significance of the appearance in British political life of a new party which aimed at advanced political and social reform was, perhaps, not fully realised at the time, since the Government's majority was so large that it did not in any way depend upon the Labour party for support. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became Prime Minister, but in 1908 he retired through ill-health, and was succeeded by Mr. Asquith, who appointed Mr. Lloyd George as his Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The outstanding feature of the latter part of Edward VII's reign was the passage of various measures of political and social reform by the House of Commons and their mutilation or rejection by the House of Lords. A bill to amend the Education Act of 1902 was amended so drastically by the Lords that it was dropped by the Government. A Licensing Bill and a Plural Voting Bill which passed the Commons were rejected outright by the Upper House. Finally, the Lords threw out Mr. Lloyd George's budget of 1909, which introduced certain changes in the system of national taxation.

Ever since the Revolution of 1689 it had been recognised that the control of national finance rested with the House of Commons, and though the annual Finance Bill, or budget, had to receive the assent of both Houses of Parliament, its passage through the House of Lords was usually the merest formality, and its rejection now was without precedent. The Government appealed to the country in January, 1910. Although some seats were lost, the ministry, with the support of the Irish and Labour parties, still had a majority of one hundred and thirty in the new Parliament. On such a question as the limitation of the powers of the House of Lords there was no doubt that the Labour party would side with the Government. There was some uncertainty, however, about the attitude of the Irish members. They had no liking for the increased duty on spirits, imposed by the budget of

1909, but they did not forget that the Lords had rejected the Home Rule Bill of 1893, and they realised that, while the powers of the Upper House remained intact, no measure of Home Rule was possible. They decided to accept the spirit duties in order that the Government might be free to deal with the greater question. The budget of 1909 was reintroduced, and passed through both Houses.

Before further action could be taken, Edward VII died suddenly, in May, 1910, and was succeeded by George V, and in view of the formalities and ceremonial connected with the inauguration of a new reign the constitutional question was shelved for a time. In December, 1910, however, another general election was held, in which the Government asked the nation for definite authority to deal with the powers of the House of Lords, and was returned to power with substantially the same majority as before.

The Conservative party contended that the House of Lords fulfilled a useful function in the constitution in revising bills passed hastily and without due consideration by the Commons, and that it was entitled to reject proposals which had not really received the assent of the nation. The Liberals asserted that there was no ground for the assumption that the Lords were better able than the Commons to ascertain the will of the nation, and that the Upper House exercised its function of revising and rejecting only when a Liberal Government was in office. On both sides there were some suggestions of reforming the constitution of the Upper House, but the Government decided to limit its powers and to leave the question of its composition for future consideration. The House of Lords might be stronger after being reformed, and the aim of the Government was to weaken it.

The Parliament Bill of 1911 provided that the right of the Lords to reject finance bills should cease, and that such bills should become law one month after leaving the House of Commons, whether they had been accepted by the House of Lords or not. The right of the Lords to reject other bills remained, but any bill which was thrice passed by the Commons, in successive years, was to become law on the third occasion, notwithstanding rejection by the Upper House. The maximum duration of Parliament, fixed by the Septennial Act of 1716 at seven years, was reduced to five years. The bill passed the Commons, but there appeared to be no prospect of its

acceptance by the Lords unless exceptional measures were taken. Mr. Asquith obtained the king's assent to the creation of sufficient new peers to ensure the passage of the bill. The number was not officially stated, but the Prime Minister assured the House of Commons that it would be adequate, and it was unofficially suggested that five hundred new peerages might be created. As in 1832, the majority of the peers decided to withdraw rather than witness the swamping of their chamber, but a section, known as Diehards, resolved to fight to the end and force the Government to take extreme measures, rather than assent to the passage of the bill. In the end, a number of moderate peers who were personally opposed to the bill supported it in order that the Diehards might be outvoted and that the creation of new peerages might be avoided. In this way the Parliament Bill became law.

The effect of its enactment seemed to be, for a time, what unbiased observers had predicted—the strengthening, and not the weakening, of the House of Lords. It was no longer able to reject a finance bill (but in modern political history it had done this only once, and it had accepted it when it was sent up a second time). It was entitled to reject other bills, however, and only on the third presentation could its decision be overridden. It was argued that a power which had been left by the Parliament Act to the Lords was a power which might be used, and used more frequently and confidently than in time past.

The Irish party had supported the Parliament Act in the expectation that Home Rule would be proposed after the power of the House of Lords to reject it had been curtailed, and in 1912 the Government introduced the third Home Rule Bill, and also a measure for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales. Both bills were thrown out by the House of Lords. In 1913 the House of Commons formally passed both these bills, and, in addition, a Plural Voting Bill. The Lords rejected all three. It was expected that the Home Rule Bill and the Welsh Disestablishment Bill would become law in 1914 and the Plural Voting Bill in 1915. To the Home Rule Bill the most strenuous opposition was offered in Northern Ireland. The Ulster Protestants declared that under no circumstances would they submit to an Irish Parliament at Dublin, in which a Roman Catholic majority was assured. Preparations were made for armed resistance, and when the

Government introduced the Home Rule Bill into the Commons for the third time there was real prospect of rebellion in Ulster. A compromise was attempted, by which the six Protestant counties of north-east Ireland might be excluded from the area subject to the Irish Parliament, and while this was under discussion the European War broke out, and the consideration of internal political questions was, by agreement among all parties, postponed until after the war.

Social reforms had been undertaken while the constitutional struggle was proceeding. In 1909 a scheme of old age pensions was established, on a non-contributory basis, every person over seventy years of age and of limited means becoming entitled to a small weekly allowance. In 1911, the year of the passing of the Parliament Act, a comprehensive plan of insurance against sickness and unemployment was inaugurated. Employers and employees were compelled to contribute to funds out of which benefits were to be paid to workpeople in times of sickness and unemployment. The scheme was at first unpopular, but it has been extended and amended, and it has unquestionably been of great value in mitigating the hardships of life among the working classes. It had been felt for many years that, even in times of prosperity, the well-being of the working classes rested on too narrow a basis. The intelligent and industrious workman and his family might be involved in great hardship by reason of unemployment or sickness, or through the death of the family wage-earner, or by the approach of old age. The institution of old age pensions, and of sickness and unemployment insurance, and, more recently, of pensions for widows, has done much to lessen the hardships consequent upon these vicissitudes of life.

The Parliament elected in 1910 ought, by the Parliament Act of 1911, to have been dissolved in December, 1915, but as a large part of the electorate was engaged in the war it was decided to postpone the election. Parliament lengthened its own life for a few months, and repeated the process again and again until the end of the war.

In 1915 Mr. Asquith reconstructed his ministry, which became a coalition of Liberals and Conservatives, pledged to carry the war to a successful issue. Towards the end of 1916 a political crisis occurred, some members of the cabinet feeling that Mr. Asquith was not sufficiently energetic in the prosecution of the war. He resigned, and Mr. Lloyd George

became Prime Minister. The unity of the Liberal party was destroyed, one part looking to the new premier as its leader, while the remainder constituted an opposition party under Mr. Asquith. In 1918 an Education Act was passed, in order that in the years following the war the national system of education might be extended and made more efficient. In the same year, in anticipation of a general election at the end of the war, the Representation of the People Act was passed. Seats in Parliament were redistributed, and the franchise was enlarged by the inclusion of women over thirty years of age.

The coalition of Lloyd George Liberals with the Conservatives was maintained at the general election of December, 1918. Members of the two parties did not oppose each other, the Government candidates in some constituencies being Conservative and in others Liberal. But they were opposed by Asquithian Liberals and by Labour candidates, and though the Government obtained a substantial majority the number of Labour members in the House of Commons increased to about seventy.

Irish discontent had not lessened during the war. A rebellion broke out in Dublin at Easter, 1916, and, though it was suppressed, the Sinn Fein movement grew up among the Irish, aiming at complete separation from Great Britain and the establishment of an Irish republic. For some time after the war disorder and unrest prevailed in Ireland. Outrages were committed on people and property, and the Government proved quite unable to maintain its authority. Much of this disorder was due to the disappointment of the Irish at the postponement of Home Rule, which had seemed to be on the verge of attainment in 1914, and it was doubtful whether Home Rule would now satisfy them. In 1921 Mr. Lloyd George resolved to meet Irish discontent by granting Irish demands as far as possible. Ireland was divided into two parts. The Protestant counties of the north-east were to be known henceforth as Northern Ireland, and the remainder of the country was formed into the Irish Free State. In each part a Parliament was to be established, with a ministry responsible to it, and in each part the Crown was to be represented by a Governor-General. For some time the success of the arrangement was in doubt. Friction developed over the question of boundaries; outrages and other forms of disorder continued, and the irreconcilable element in Ireland pressed for complete

separation from Great Britain. With the passage of time, however, the success of the settlement became assured. Outrages have ceased, and, with the realisation that for all practical purposes Ireland has at last secured her independence, the Sinn Fein movement has ceased to be important.

In 1922 the Conservatives withdrew from the coalition, on the ground that its purpose, the winning of the war and the settlement of the immediate problems arising out of it, had been accomplished, and that political affairs ought again to be conducted on party lines. Mr. Lloyd George resigned, and the Conservative leader, Mr. Andrew Bonar Law, became Prime Minister. A general election followed, in which the Conservatives obtained a clear party majority for the first time since 1900. (There had been a majority of Conservative members after the previous general election, but they had been elected as members of a coalition, Liberals voting for Conservative candidates in some places while Conservatives voted for Liberals in others.) The Labour party doubled its representation, and numbered one hundred and forty-two in the new House of Commons.

Mr. Bonar Law held the premiership only a few months, and resigned in consequence of an illness which caused his death shortly afterwards. The most prominent men in the Conservative party were the Marquis Curzon and Sir Austen Chamberlain, with equal claims to consideration as leader. To avoid a party split, the problem of leadership was solved by offering it to Mr. Stanley Baldwin, who had not hitherto been regarded as a front-rank politician. Mr. Baldwin became Prime Minister in 1923, and his common sense and high personal character won for him the confidence of the party and popularity in the country. Towards the end of 1923 he made a declaration of policy which was regarded as a revival of the Chamberlainite policy of Tariff Reform, but he promised not to enforce it until after a general election. The election indicated that the country was not prepared to accept any form of Protection. No party had an absolute majority; the Conservatives retained about two hundred and fifty seats, but were outnumbered by the Free Trade parties (Labour and Liberal) by over one hundred. For the first time the Labour representation (over one hundred and ninety) exceeded that of the Liberals (about one hundred and fifty), and the first Labour Government came into existence.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald became Prime Minister in January, 1924. The Labour Government, having no majority in the House of Commons, depended for its existence upon a continuance of Liberal support. This was accorded to it for some months, but Liberals as well as Conservatives were suspicious of the Government's policy towards Russia, and in October, 1924, the Labour ministry suffered defeat. The general election confirmed the verdict of the House of Commons, and Labour representation was reduced to about one hundred and fifty. But the surprising feature of the election of 1924 was the disaster which befell the Liberal party, of whom only about forty were returned to the House. The Conservatives numbered about four hundred, and Mr. Baldwin became Prime Minister for the second time.

The Conservative premier had pledged his party not to impose taxation on imported food and not to establish a general tariff, but he had left himself free to impose safeguarding duties for the protection of important industries suffering from keen foreign competition. This policy was not, from a party point of view, successful. Protectionists contended that the safeguarding duties were insufficient in number; Free Traders said that they were too numerous, and criticised and ridiculed those that were imposed. The landed interest, to which the Conservative party looked for steady support, claimed that agriculture was entitled to the benefit of safeguarding duties, and resented the Prime Minister's pledge not to impose food taxes. Disappointed industrialists and agriculturalists withdrew their support from the Government, and it is probable that the safeguarding policy lost for Mr. Baldwin more votes than it gained.

For a year or two after the war, while prices remained inflated, everybody appeared to be prosperous, but the inevitable depression followed, and proved to be exceptionally severe. The weight of the National Debt, which exceeded eight thousand millions, involved crushing taxation, and unemployment and falling wages caused a good deal of industrial unrest. The coal industry was especially depressed, and the mines were idle during a great lock-out in 1921 and again in 1926. On the latter occasion a general strike occurred, but the Government took energetic measures, and within a few days the strike collapsed.

In 1928 a further act for the extension of the franchise was

carried, and practically every man and woman in the country over twenty-one years of age received the right to vote. Various other measures of social reform were passed, but the Conservative Government failed to retain its popularity, and at the general election of May, 1929, it was defeated. The Liberal party failed to increase its strength materially (fewer than sixty Liberals were returned), and Labour, with two hundred and eighty-nine members, although still without an absolute majority, became for the first time the most numerous of the three parties in the House of Commons. Mr. Baldwin resigned, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald entered upon his second premiership in June, 1929.

The importance of the House of Lords has continued to diminish in the years which have elapsed since the war, and the honour of a peerage is sought now for social rather than political reasons. In the years immediately preceding the war the real power of the Upper House appeared to have increased. Between 1832 and 1911 the House possessed extensive powers (theoretically equal to those of the House of Commons) which it rarely exercised; after restrictions were imposed upon its authority it felt freer to act up to the limits permitted by the Parliament Act. Since the war, however, the House of Lords has not maintained this attitude. It has not rejected important bills sent to it from the Commons, and, in fact, the only bill which has become law without the sanction of the House of Lords is that for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, which was passed for the third time by the House of Commons in 1914. Even Home Rule received the assent of the Peers before it was put into operation. It is true that the Conservatives have been in power during the greater part of the period since 1918, and the House of Lords has always been disposed to assent to Conservative proposals, but it is unlikely that it will venture in future to reject measures put forward by other Governments.

CHAPTER XXXIII

IRELAND SINCE THE UNION

THE union of Ireland with Great Britain started badly. It was brought about by Pitt, who hoped in this way to solve the problem of Irish government. In the eighteenth century the Roman Catholic majority had been under the domination of the Protestant minority, and though many people recognised the injustice of keeping the Roman Catholics in permanent subjection they feared that a grant of political rights to them would be followed by reprisals upon the Protestants. Consideration for the safety of the Protestants demanded the continuation of the restrictions. Pitt thought that Roman Catholic Emancipation might be granted safely if it was preceded by a union of the two countries. The Roman Catholic members of Parliament for Ireland would be in a minority at Westminster, and would be powerless to harm their Protestant fellow-countrymen. The union was effected, but, on account of the obstinacy of George III, Catholic Emancipation was not granted. The Irish thought they had been tricked and that England had broken faith.

Ireland had four important grievances which called for redress in the nineteenth century — religious, commercial, political and agrarian. Although the Irish Roman Catholics had been permitted to vote since 1793 they were embittered by the continuance of the remaining restrictions, and they resented the privileged position of the Church of Ireland. Not only the Catholics, but the Presbyterians of Ulster, were opposed to this institution, which, nevertheless, was the State Church, for the support of which tithes were exacted from Irish tenant farmers of all religious views. Commercially, the Irish suffered from the union, since the establishment of Free Trade between the two countries enabled British manufacturers to flood Ireland with cheap goods, and this made it difficult, and even impossible, for Irish manufactures to be developed. The political grievance consisted in the fact that the union made

no real difference to the methods employed in the government of Ireland. English officials still ruled the country from Dublin Castle, and the Irish people continued to feel that they were governed by the representatives of an alien race. The agrarian problem arose out of the ownership of Irish land by great lords resident in Great Britain. These landlords were represented in Ireland by agents who rack-rented the peasantry. Irishmen were forced to cultivate the soil, since there was no alternative occupation to which they could turn. Excessive rents were charged for small holdings of land, the barest margin of subsistence being left to the peasant. The Irish farmer who worked hard and improved his land with a view to obtaining a better result found that his rent was raised against him, so that the benefit from the improvement passed to the landlord, while the tenant's failure to pay the rent was followed by eviction.

The Irish Catholic peasants were poor, illiterate, downtrodden and superstitious. They were under the influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood, the members of which were recruited from the peasant class, whose characteristics they shared. The priests formed an important element in Irish politics in the nineteenth century, and to the other burdens of the people was added the necessity of satisfying their demands. From time to time the misery of the people found expression in outrages against property and persons. Houses were burned, cattle were maimed, and land agents were murdered or maltreated.

Agitation for Catholic Emancipation continued in the early years of the nineteenth century, but the attitude of George III made English ministers unwilling to take a strong line upon the matter. After the establishment of the regency in 1811 Catholic Emancipation became an open question. The Tories were divided in opinion; the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, and the Lord Chancellor, Lord Eldon, opposed it, while Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary, was in favour of it.

In 1823 the Catholic Association was formed under the guidance of Daniel O'Connell, and showed so much vigour in the prosecution of the Catholic claims that the Government became alarmed. The influence of the association was the greater by reason of the fact that outrages ceased, and the land became orderly and law-abiding, an indication of the strength of discipline within the movement. In 1825

the association was suppressed by law; it was immediately reformed under another name and, ostensibly, with another object, and went on as before.

In 1828, at an election for County Clare, O'Connell himself, although a Roman Catholic, became a candidate. The Protestant nominee, Vesey Fitzgerald, was popular, and was a supporter of Catholic claims. Nevertheless, O'Connell was returned by a large majority, although he could not take his seat in the House of Commons because of the oath required under the Parliamentary Test Act of 1678. It was believed that at the next general election most of the counties would return Catholics, and that if they were not allowed to sit rebellion would break out.

The Duke of Wellington was at this time Prime Minister, and Peel was Home Secretary. Both had opposed Catholic Emancipation; both now realised that it was necessary to give way. They were not frightened by the prospect of rebellion; there had been revolts in Ireland on many occasions throughout its history, and there was no reason to think that greater success would attend this one than any other. It could be suppressed, if necessary, but the Duke of Wellington had seen too much of war to be fond of it, and regarded any other solution of the problem, even the grant of Catholic Emancipation, as preferable to the shedding of blood. Peel also changed his views, and the success of the movement was assured.

It is not to be supposed that the existence of restrictions upon Roman Catholics in the United Kingdom was due to blind, unreasoning religious bigotry. Rightly or wrongly, it was felt that the Roman Catholic faith differed from all others in that its adherents were bound to render unlimited obedience to a foreign monarch, the Pope. Such obedience might conceivably conflict with their allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, such a conflict of claims upon the loyalty of Roman Catholics actually developed. Thrice in the course of English history a pope had excommunicated an English monarch. No pope had ever renounced the right to take such action; if any pope should ever again excommunicate and depose the King of Great Britain Roman Catholics would be compelled to choose between their religion and their allegiance. It was this doubt about the completeness of their loyalty which caused the toleration which had long been granted to others to be denied to them, and Catholic

Emancipation became possible only when it was felt to be exceedingly improbable that papal powers in this matter would ever be exercised at any future time. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that a formal papal renunciation of the right to depose and excommunicate the King of Great Britain would have brought about Catholic Emancipation sooner.

The Test and Corporation Acts had been repealed in 1828, and in 1829 the Roman Catholic Relief Act became law. It was applicable throughout the United Kingdom, and not only in Ireland, and it removed all civil and political disabilities from Roman Catholics. They became eligible for membership of Parliament and for many public posts from which they had hitherto been excluded. The Act of Settlement, however, was left untouched. No Papist might succeed to the crown, nor hold the office of Lord Chancellor of Great Britain (the minister who administers the oath to a new sovereign). Nor might a Papist become Lord-Lieutenant or Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The effect of the measure was minimised to some extent by a proviso that the qualification for voting in Ireland should be raised. The forty-shilling freeholders in that country were disfranchised, and the right to vote was limited to those who possessed freehold land worth ten pounds per annum. A large number of the peasants, those most under priestly influence, were thus deprived of their votes.

One part, and that the most important, of the Irish religious grievance was removed by the grant of Roman Catholic Emancipation. But the Irish Church remained the State Church, to which all Irish farmers had to pay tithe, and the bitterness of feeling between Catholics and Protestants continued. By the Irish Tithe Act of 1838 the payment of tithe was transferred from tenant to landlord. In the long run this made little real difference, since the tenant would be called upon to pay an increase of rent equal to the amount of the tithe. During his second ministry Peel made a State grant to Maynooth College, where Irish Roman Catholic priests were trained, hoping in this way to conciliate Irish opinion. The desired result was not obtained. Irish opposition to the established Church remained unabated, while the grant was disliked in Protestant circles in England.

The final settlement of the religious question was delayed until 1869. In that year Gladstone brought forward a bill

for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. It was fiercely opposed, especially in the House of Lords, but was carried after amendment. The Church of Ireland ceased to be the State Church, and its archbishops and bishops ceased to sit in the House of Lords, but it retained possession of all cathedrals, churches and parsonages. Its property passed to the State, but a part of it, of the capital value of ten million pounds, was returned to the Church. The life interests of the existing clergy were preserved.

It would not be right to assert that Irish religious animosity died away as the result of the measure, but, at least, the Irish grievance in being compelled to support a Church which was not that of the mass of the people disappeared. The effect of the act upon the Church of Ireland has been beneficial. Freed from the State connection, it has been able to do its work among its own adherents with greater effect and to extend its sphere of usefulness throughout the land.

Little was done to remedy the political and agrarian grievances of the Irish during the first half of the century. O'Connell, after his success in bringing about Catholic Emancipation, started a movement known as Young Ireland, which had for its object the repeal of the Act of Union and the restoration of a separate Irish Parliament. In this he was not so successful. As in the earlier agitation, he discouraged all violence and disorder, and so lost influence with his younger and more extreme followers. An open-air meeting, arranged to take place at Clontarf, was forbidden by the Government, and O'Connell was arrested, and, although he recovered his liberty, his influence was at an end. The outbreak of the continental revolutions in 1848 revived the Young Ireland party, and a feeble attempt was made at rebellion. Its leaders were captured and transported.

The misery of the people was increased by the potato famine of 1845 and 1846, in which many thousands of people died of starvation. The repeal of the Corn Laws made it possible for food to be sent to Ireland, but its distribution was mismanaged. The Government made grants, and private charity also came to the rescue, but peasants continued to starve while food speculators made fortunes.

From this time the population declined in numbers, and the work begun by famine and fever was continued by emigration. For many years a steady stream of Irish emigrants crossed the

Atlantic and settled in the United States. They carried with them a fierce hatred of Great Britain, and their influence has been appreciable in delaying the establishment of friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States.

By the year 1863 Great Britain was faced with a new Irish movement. A society of Fenians, consisting chiefly of Irish-Americans, was formed with the object of establishing an independent Irish republic. In 1865 a Fenian conspiracy was discovered, and its leaders were arrested. An invasion of Canada from the United States was attempted in 1866 but was easily dispersed. In 1867 a series of Fenian outrages occurred in different parts of Great Britain, but the movement failed to achieve its object, and died down.

In 1870 a real attempt was made to deal with the agrarian grievances of the Irish. As has been pointed out, the peasant gained a precarious living by the cultivation of a small farm, the rent of which was so heavy that he was unable to rise above the poverty line. If, through his own energy, he improved his holding by the erection of buildings, fences and gates, or by the cleaning and manuring of the land, his rent was likely to be raised, and the landlord gained the benefit of the improvement. At any time his inability to pay the rent resulted in his eviction. In Ulster things were not quite so bad, since, by custom, an outgoing farmer was entitled to compensation from his successor for improvements he had made.

Gladstone in 1870 passed the first Irish Land Act through Parliament. The Ulster custom was made legally binding and was extended throughout Ireland. Tenants who were evicted by their landlords for any other reason than non-payment of rent were to be compensated for disturbance and for any improvements they had effected, and a plan was evolved by which the Government might lend money to tenants who wished to buy their farms. The interest of a tenant in his holding was thus recognised by law, but the act did no more than touch the fringe of the evil. Evictions were still possible, and rack-renting went on unabated, while the provisions of the act relating to the purchasing of farms were almost valueless, since landlords were unwilling to sell.

In 1870 a Home Rule League, which aimed at securing the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament, was formed under the leadership of Isaac Butt, and, later, of Charles Stuart Parnell. Agitation continued, and in 1879 a Land League

came into existence which was much more violent than the Home Rule League in its methods. Outrages again appeared, and, before long, "boycotting" was introduced. English land agents in Ireland, and Irish farmers who submitted to their extortions, were cut off from local society as completely as possible. Nobody would associate with them, local shopkeepers would not serve them, and, if they attempted to import food and other necessaries of life from England, people in Ireland would not forward the goods.

In 1881 Gladstone's second Irish Land Act was passed. This was aimed especially at rack-renting. Land courts were established, to which Irish tenants might apply for the fixing of their rents. Such rents were to remain unchanged for fifteen years, and during that period the advantage of improvements effected by the tenant would remain with him. The advantage which might have been gained by the act was largely nullified by the disorders of the next few years. A Coercion Act for the suppression of crime, permitting the arrest of agitators and their imprisonment without trial, was passed, and the Land League issued a no-rent manifesto, in which it called upon Irish tenants to refuse to pay rent. Parnell and some others were imprisoned, but in the following year were released. Shortly afterwards, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Thomas Henry Burke were murdered in Phœnix Park, Dublin, by a man named Brady, and a second Coercion Act was passed, which authorised the establishment of special tribunals for the trial of offenders, and conferred extended powers of search upon the police. Outrages continued, however, for some years.

In the first Salisbury ministry a further act was passed to deal with the agrarian question. It was known as Lord Ashbourne's Act, and it extended the facilities for the purchase of farms by their tenants.

Gladstone returned to office in 1886, and announced his conversion to Home Rule. He introduced a Home Rule Bill into the House of Commons, but though he received the support of the Irish members the Liberal party was divided on the matter, and a group of ninety members, known henceforth as Liberal Unionists, voted against the measure, which was rejected. Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister again.

Irish disappointment was expressed by the revival of the

no-rent movement and by the continuance of outrages upon persons and property. The new Chief Secretary for Ireland was Mr. Arthur Balfour, the Prime Minister's nephew, who showed strength and tact in dealing with the situation. Difficulty had been experienced in securing the punishment of offenders in Ireland, since Irish juries, in the face of the plainest evidence, refused to convict those brought before them. A third Coercion Act, in 1887, appointed resident magistrates to try cases in Ireland without juries. At the same time Mr. Balfour recognised the grievances which led to the no-rent campaign, and a further Land Act provided for the revision of rents and for the extension of facilities for land purchase. These measures were effective, and for a time Ireland was quiet.

IRELAND

Parnell died in 1891, though not before many members of the Irish party in the House of Commons had renounced his leadership. This split in the ranks of the Nationalists (by which name the Irish party was known) did a good deal to weaken the Irish cause. In 1893, Gladstone, Prime Minister for the fourth time, introduced his second Home Rule Bill, which passed the Commons but was rejected by the Lords. The Irish were thus disappointed a second time, and their hopes were not raised again for many years.

At this point it is possible to summarise the attitude of the two political parties in Great Britain to Irish problems. It was realised on all sides that an agrarian problem existed in Ireland, and that the conditions of rural life in that country were such as to cause poverty, misery and discontent. It

was equally evident that there was deep dissatisfaction with British rule in Ireland, and that the Irish desired the restoration of their separate Parliament. The Conservatives admitted the existence of these factors in the problem, and held that agrarian discontent lay at the bottom of the Irish question. If, by the solution of the difficulties connected with land, peace and prosperity could be brought to Ireland, they thought that the demand for a separate Irish Parliament would die away. The best remedy for the land grievances—high rents, evictions, lost improvements, and the like—seemed to be to make the Irish peasant the owner of his farm. Conservative policy, therefore, aimed at extending the system of land purchase, and trusted to increasing prosperity to put an end to the agitation for Home Rule. The Liberals held that Irish discontent could not be allayed without the grant of self-government, and, while admitting that the land legislation that had been passed might effect some improvement, considered that the final solution of the agrarian problem could come only from an Irish Parliament.

Two important measures relating to Ireland were passed during the ten years (1895–1905) of Conservative rule. In 1897 the county council system was extended to Ireland, and it was hoped that this increase of local self-government might be accepted as a substitute for Home Rule. In 1903 an Irish Land Purchase Act was passed by which a new scheme of assistance to Irish tenants who wished to buy their farms was announced. A scheme of devolution, by which the amount of self-government might be increased, was discussed, but was not pressed forward.

Prosperity increased in Ireland, but the people continued to hope for Home Rule. In 1911 the Irish members supported the Asquith Government in its effort to limit the powers of the House of Lords by the passing of the Parliament Act. In 1912 and 1913 a Home Rule Bill was passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords; in 1914 it passed the Commons a third time, and, under the provisions of the Parliament Act, became law. But the difficulties of the problem were not essentially different from what they had been at any time since the Revolution. It was feared that Roman Catholic predominance at Dublin would endanger the liberties, the property, and even the lives of the Protestant minority in Ireland. The Ulster Protestants declared that under no circumstances would

they submit to a Parliament at Dublin. A force of over a hundred thousand volunteers was raised, armed and trained to resist the application of the Home Rule Act to Ulster. A compromise was proposed by which the Protestant counties of north-east Ireland might be excluded from the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament, and while this was under consideration the European War broke out, and the whole question was postponed.

But Ireland was sick of postponements, and the Sinn Fein movement, aiming at complete separation from Great Britain and the establishment of an Irish republic, gained strength. A rebellion in Dublin at Easter, 1916, was put down, but disorder increased. Outrages were of daily occurrence, and the British grip on Ireland appreciably slackened. In 1921 Mr. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, decided that the time had arrived when Irish aspirations ought to be satisfied, and a solution on the lines of the compromise of 1914 was put forward and became law in 1922. Three provinces, together with the western part of Ulster, were to form the Irish Free State. Eastern Ulster was constituted a separate state, to be known as Northern Ireland. Each part was to have a Parliament, with responsible government, and each was to have its own Governor-General. Some years elapsed before disorder died away, and the extreme Sinn Fein element was dissatisfied with the failure to secure independence. But it is to be hoped that in the future Ireland will settle down to prosperity, and that religious and racial animosities will, with the passing of time, die away.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS SINCE THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

THE circumstances under which American independence was won were not such as to start the new republic on its separate career with friendly feelings towards Great Britain. Although some of the colonists had been loyal to the mother country during the war, at its conclusion they either settled down and merged into the general mass of American citizens or migrated north into British territory. The general feeling in the United States of hostility towards Great Britain, which had culminated in the War of Independence, died down, but did not die away, and it is only in recent years that serious efforts have been made on both sides to cultivate more friendly relations.

The trade which the war had interrupted was renewed after the return of peace. The growth of cotton was developed in the slave states of the south, and year by year increasing quantities were sent to Lancashire.

During the Napoleonic War American trade was hampered by the economic warfare between Great Britain and France. Since the British Orders in Council were capable of more regular and thorough enforcement than the Napoleonic decrees, American resentment was directed against Great Britain. British ships searched American vessels for contraband and for deserters. It was probably true that many men who deserted from the British navy made their way to the United States, and in some cases embarked as seamen on American traders, but it is equally likely that British naval officers occasionally seized men who were American citizens on the pretext that they were deserters from the British navy. At length, in 1812, war broke out, and was carried on with some vigour but little effect. An American invasion of Canada was repulsed, but the Americans obtained several successes at sea, though in the most famous of the naval engagements, the duel between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*, the British

frigate captured its American opponent in fifteen minutes. After the Peninsular War a part of Wellington's army was sent to North America and invaded the United States. Washington was occupied, and the Capitol, the building in which Congress met, was destroyed. Peace was restored by the Treaty of Ghent, in 1814.

The question of the boundary between the United States and Canada was not settled until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century. By the Ashburton Treaty of 1842 the frontier between Maine and New Brunswick was settled, but agreement was not so easily reached with regard to the boundary farther west. The Americans demanded that the United States should extend as far north as 54° 40′, and during the presidential election of 1844 their motto was "Fifty-four forty, or fight." But the Oregon Treaty, in 1846, fixed the forty-ninth parallel as the line of demarcation between the two countries.

During the American Civil War the sympathies of the people of Great Britain were divided. The difference in character between north and south which existed while they were within the British Empire still prevailed. The north was commercial, industrial and democratic; the south was agricultural and aristocratic. The landed gentry of Great Britain felt little sympathy with the industrial north, and much for the men of their own class in the rebel southern states. The working classes of Great Britain, however, were strongly on the side of the north on the question of slavery, the continuance or abolition of which was one of the issues of the war. It followed that the Governments of the two countries were rather less in sympathy than the peoples. The British Government maintained an attitude of neutrality, although it recognised the southern states as belligerents. (This meant that, in the opinion of the British Government, the southerners were entitled to fight, and that, in the event of southern troops being captured by the United States army, they were entitled to treatment as prisoners of war and not as rebels.) The north resented this recognition, and the British Government did not venture to recognise the independence of the southern states, or to offer its mediation in the struggle, both of which courses were at one time under consideration.

The *Trent* incident brought the United States and Great Britain perilously near to war. The seizure of Slidell and

Mason, two southerners, from a British ship on the high seas, was strongly resented. Vigorous protest was made by the British Government, and the Prince Consort, Queen Victoria's husband, suggested that the incident might be passed over if the men were released. Lincoln, the American president, was unwilling to do this, but friendly representations on the subject were made to him by other European powers, and when he realised that the opinion of the whole civilised world was against him he released the prisoners.

The north had genuine ground of complaint in connection with the *Alabama*, which was built on the Mersey for the southern states. It was the duty of the British Government, as a neutral, to prevent the departure of the *Alabama* until after the end of the war. This was not done; the *Alabama* left port and did a good deal of damage to northern shipping before she was sunk. Some years later the United States claimed compensation from the British Government in respect of the losses it had sustained through the activities of the *Alabama*. As a result of arbitration proceedings Great Britain had to pay to the United States a sum of over three million pounds.

The blockade of southern ports by northern cruisers during the Civil War caused a total cessation of the cotton trade with Lancashire. Mills were closed down, and many thousands of workpeople were put out of employment. Great distress was felt, and charitable funds were raised for the relief of the workless. Subscriptions were received for this purpose even from the United States.

For many years after the potato famine there was a steady flow of emigrants from Ireland to the United States. They were filled with hatred of Great Britain, and in time they became numerous enough to influence politics and to inflame feelings in America. The Fenian movement in the sixties was of Irish-American origin, and in 1866 a Fenian invasion of Canada actually occurred and was repulsed. It is probable that American sympathy was with the Fenians, but the Government of the United States disavowed their action.

The construction of transcontinental railways in the United States brought about an increase in the amount of grain raised on the prairies, and in the seventies began the regular export of wheat to Great Britain, which has continued to the present day. Trade developed in other directions. Canned meats

were sent to Great Britain, and British manufactured goods were received in the United States. The development of commerce had a political value in that it tended to promote friendly relations and to prevent war. Those engaged in trade between the two countries would be ruined by the outbreak of war, and would use such influence as they possessed in favour of peace.

Alaska was purchased by the United States from Russia in 1866, and friction developed on the question of the rights of seal-fishing in Behring Straits, hitherto claimed on behalf of Canadian ships. The matter was left unsettled for many years, and was ultimately referred to arbitration, as a result of which an award was given in 1892 in favour of the British contentions.

Another dispute arose between Great Britain and the United States in 1896 over the question of the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, which had never been settled. The President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, revived the Monroe doctrine, which declared that European powers ought not to be concerned in American affairs, and demanded that Great Britain should submit her case to American arbitration. For a time there was danger of war, but Lord Salisbury contended that Great Britain was an American as well as a European power, and that British territory in the New World covered a greater area than that of the United States. He offered to submit the British case to the American Government in order to demonstrate its justice, but declined to be bound by any American decision. This firm attitude was effective. The war fever died away, and the boundary dispute was referred to an arbitration tribunal which gave a decision almost entirely in the British favour.

In the earlier part of the European War the United States remained neutral, and resentment was caused by the determination of the British to search American vessels for contraband. But German action in sinking American ships caused even stronger feeling, and in April, 1917, the United States entered the war against the central powers. The presence of American troops in Europe contributed to the success of the allies, and the influence of President Wilson was felt in the drafting of the peace treaty.

During the war Great Britain made very large loans to her

allies in Europe, and in order that she might continue to do this she arranged for loans from the Government of the United States. After the war Great Britain suggested an all-round cancellation of these war loans, but the United States was unwilling to agree to this proposal. Arrangements for the repayment of the British debt were delayed for some time, but in 1923 Mr. Baldwin visited the United States to discuss the matter, and terms of settlement were agreed upon.

The United States has hitherto refused to enter the League of Nations, but has, nevertheless, been actively associated with various movements designed to ensure the peace of the world. At a conference held at Washington in 1922 some limitation of naval armaments was agreed upon. In 1929 Mr. Ramsay Macdonald visited the United States, and as a result of his conversations with President Hoover it was decided to summon a conference of representatives of the United States, France, Italy, Japan and Great Britain to meet in London in January, 1930, in order that the possibility of further reductions might be discussed.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century there has been a distinct improvement in Anglo-American relations. With the passing of time the antagonism provoked by the War of Independence, now a century and a half past, has died away, and has been replaced by an increased friendliness based on community of language and race. The Irish-Americans are still hostile to Great Britain, and the farmers of the middle west belong in outlook to the nineteenth rather than the twentieth century, but the mass of the American people is better disposed towards Great Britain to-day than at any previous time in the separate history of the United States.

CHAPTER XXXV

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE nineteenth century was the age of the railway and the steamship. In the eighteenth century passengers and goods were conveyed by road or canal, and the twentieth century has witnessed the development of motor transport and of aviation. But steam transport by land and sea outdistanced all rival means of communication in the nineteenth century.

The earliest railroads were laid down in the mining districts. They were short private tracks leading from the pithead to the banks of rivers or canals, and were intended to facilitate the loading of coal upon the barges. The rails were wooden balks let into the ground, and wagons ran on (and sometimes off) them. Iron rails were introduced in 1767, and wagons with flanged wheels were constructed. Haulage was by man-power or by horses.

In the early years of the nineteenth century several short railroads, upon which vehicles were to be drawn by horses, were built. An alternative method of haulage was by the use of a stationary engine at each end of the track and the drawing of the carriages by means of a cable. George Stephenson built a locomotive in 1814 for use on the colliery line at Killingworth, but it was not a success. He persevered, however, and other engineers also made experiments.

The Stockton and Darlington railway was built between 1821 and 1825. The original intention of the promoters was to use horses, but their plan was changed, and in 1825 the line was opened as a steam railway, with an engine, known as "Locomotion No. 1," constructed by Stephenson. Its success led to the establishment of other lines and the improvement of locomotives. The Liverpool and Manchester Railway was ready by 1830. A line was constructed from Liverpool to Birmingham, and another from London to Birmingham, so that by the accession of Queen Victoria London and

Manchester were in direct railway communication with each other. In 1838 the Great Western Railway was opened, and in the next few years many other lines were built.

It is customary at the present day to refer to the railway system of this country, but there was no systematic planning of these early lines. Most of them were quite short, and many of them were built without any connection with other lines. Gauges differed, and only gradually did it become the practice to build to one or other of the two standard gauges, 4 ft. 8½ in. and 7 ft.

The directors of the early railway companies failed to realise the possibilities of the new means of transport. The lines were intended primarily for the carriage of goods, and the conveyance of passengers was treated as of minor importance. The promoters contemplated the building and working of lines on principles similar to those which had been followed in the construction of canals and turnpike roads. They intended to put down the railroad and to permit any person to place his own engine and trucks upon it on payment of a toll. A little experience was sufficient to show the utter impossibility of working a railway satisfactorily in this way. The railway companies found it necessary to provide trucks and wagons, and to use only their own engines. Privately owned trucks were still used in large numbers, however, especially for the conveyance of coal.

In view of the persistence of the belief in *laissez-faire*, it is not surprising that it was not regarded as the duty of the Government to build railways. Construction was left to private companies, which had to obtain parliamentary sanction before they could begin the work. Much hostility was shown to every one of the early proposals. Landowners, in objecting to the establishment of railroads near their estates, asserted, and probably believed, that vegetation would be destroyed by noxious fumes, that cattle would be maddened at the approach of a railway engine, and that buildings near a railway would be in real danger of fire. Towns frequently objected to the proximity of a railway, and in many places to-day the position of the railway station at some distance from the centre of the town is evidence of the success of the opposition.

In course of time a system was evolved. The standard gauge became 4 ft. 8½ in., and new lines were constructed to it, although the Great Western did not abandon the broad

gauge till nearly the end of the century. Disconnected lines were joined up, small companies were amalgamated, large companies bought up many small lines, and interrunning became common. Between 1844 and 1847 railway building proceeded at a rapid rate, and by the middle of the century the country was covered with a network of lines. The cost was very great, for very high prices had to be paid for land, and tracks were solidly constructed. The haulage of trucks and the conveyance of passengers over the lines of two or more companies necessitated the sharing of the fares and rates among them, and this soon became so important a feature of railway business that the Railway Clearing House was established in 1842.

Parliament was reluctant to interfere in railway management; yet some degree of control was necessary in the public interest. Uniformity of gauge was enforced (except in the west and south-west), rules were laid down to ensure safety of working, and every company was ordered to run daily, in each direction, one train on which passengers might be conveyed at a fare not exceeding one penny per mile. This train was known as the parliamentary train, but when, in course of time, third-class fares were fixed generally upon this basis, it ceased to be of importance.

In 1873 the Railway and Canal Commission was established, and in 1888 its powers were extended. Its duties were to inquire into various matters of dispute arising out of railway working, and many of the cases which came before it were brought by manufacturers who complained that the goods of their trade rivals were carried at a lower rate than theirs. Such preference was forbidden, and the Commission had power to regulate rates in these cases.

There has been a tendency towards the amalgamation of railway companies in recent years. In 1899 the South-Eastern united with the London, Chatham and Dover to form the South-Eastern and Chatham. A more important merger was proposed in 1909, to include the Great Northern, Great Central and Great Eastern in one large company, but Parliament refused its sanction, whereupon the three companies entered into a working agreement which did not require parliamentary assent. In 1921 a comprehensive scheme of amalgamations was prepared, and four companies were formed, into which all existing companies were merged.

Roads at the beginning of the nineteenth century were still under the control of the turnpike trusts, many of which amalgamated, thus managing long stretches and bringing their roads into a highly satisfactory condition. The building of railways led to a falling off in road transport, and the turnpike trusts disappeared. During the greater part of the nineteenth century the amount of road traffic was small, and while the condition of main roads was satisfactory country lanes were usually in a deplorable condition. Since the beginning of the twentieth century the advent of motor traffic has revived the importance of the roads. The responsibility for the maintenance of high roads rests upon county councils; less important roads are under the care of district councils. The wear and tear of the roads has increased with the use of heavy motor vehicles in recent years, and the revenue from motor taxation has been used for road construction and maintenance. Great advance has been made in methods of road making, and various materials have been tried in the attempt to produce a satisfactory surface. It appears, however, that the road-maker of the future will have to dig deeper and make a more solid foundation if roads are to be adequate to the demands of modern traffic.

With the spread of railways canals have declined in importance, but they are still used. Competition between railways and canals was keen for a time, but the new lines proved to be superior to the waterways for commercial purposes, since branches could be run into large factory premises, and goods could be loaded into trucks as they left the machinery. In some cases railway companies purchased sections of canal in order to eliminate competition. The canal system survives, however, and is still useful for the conveyance of heavy merchandise, such as stone, brick and clay, for which speed of transport is not essential.

The steam-engine was used for driving ships early in the nineteenth century. As early as 1812 (before Stephenson built his Killingworth engine) a steam-boat was moving on the Clyde. Another crossed the Atlantic in 1819, and the voyage to India was undertaken in 1825. The earliest steam-boats were sailing ships to which engines were added, and it was intended that the engines should be only auxiliary to the wind. With a fair wind the ship would spread her sails; in a calm, or when the wind was unfavourable, steam would be

used. But in course of time sailing became less common, although the number of sailing-vessels on the British register exceeded the number of steamships until late in the nineteenth century. The opening of the Suez Canal decided the battle between sail and steam, as it was difficult for sailing-ships to traverse it, and only steamships could use the short route to the East. Iron ships replaced the old wooden vessels, and, later in the century, steel was substituted for iron. The steel ships, with their thin but strong plates, were lighter than those made of iron, and could be laden more fully. Engine developments also contributed to the speed and efficiency of steamships. Economy of fuel was secured by the use of triple- and quadruple-expansion engines. The turbine represents the highest degree of efficiency which has yet been attained in marine engineering.

Postal communication developed during the century. It had long existed, but hitherto the charge for the conveyance of letters had been based on the distance to be covered. In 1840, at the instance of Rowland Hill, the penny post was established within the British Isles, and it was expected that the loss on the carriage of letters between places far distant from each other would be more than balanced by the profits which would accrue from dealing with short-distance mail matter. At first the system was worked at a loss, but in course of time the continued expansion of post-office business resulted in a profit being made every year.

The telegraph was invented early in the nineteenth century, but it did not come into wide public use until many years later. Telegraphs were at first privately owned, but they were bought by the State in 1870 and were associated with the Post Office. The telephone was invented later, and for many years the system was controlled by private companies. It was not until 1912 that the State acquired the telephones by buying out the National Telephone Company.

The twentieth century has witnessed a remarkable development of the internal combustion engine (the motor), which has been adapted for use by land, sea and air. Motor transport for people and goods has developed very rapidly, and, for short journeys, has become very a serious competitor of the railways, although it is probable that railways worked by steam or electricity will easily hold their own for long-distance traffic. Motors have been used at sea, especially in submarine vessels.

but in this sphere they have not seriously rivalled engines driven by steam, although oil is now used to a considerable extent as fuel. Motors of enormous power have been designed for work in the air, and great progress has been made in aviation. High speeds have been reached, and a remarkable degree of safety has been attained. It is quite impossible to estimate the extent to which aerial transport will supersede the carriage of passengers and goods upon the earth's surface, but there can be no possible doubt that aviation will become the normal means of rapid communication in the future.

CHAPTER XXXVI

FACTORIES AND FACTORY LEGISLATION

THE factory system in the textile industries came into existence in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The principles of *laissez-faire* were at that time generally accepted, and no sort of public regulation or restriction was attempted in connection with the erection and equipment of factories. Many of them were buildings which had originally been built for other purposes, and these were usually far from satisfactory. When factories were specially built they were designed with a view to securing the maximum of profit for their owners, and no thought was given to the health, comfort, convenience and safety of the employees. Judged by modern standards most of these buildings deserved condemnation as being inadequately lighted, ill-ventilated, insanitary, dirty and crowded. Dangerous machinery was not fenced off, and serious, and even fatal, accidents were common.

Factory owners soon found that a good deal of the work in their establishments could be performed by women and children, whose labour was cheaper than that of men. The Poor Law of 1601 had ordered that pauper children should be apprenticed to a trade, and it became common for employers to visit workhouses and accept batches of pauper children as "apprentices." These children were taken to the factory, where they were kept at work for very long hours—from twelve to sixteen per day. They were not allowed to rest even on Sundays, when it was the common practice to clean the machinery. They were fed, clothed and housed by the factory owner, and, while some of the better employers were humane men who treated the children well and were not indifferent to their interests, the majority saw in the system of child labour nothing but a means of profit. The work of the children was supervised by foremen who did not hesitate to use whip and stick to keep their charges busy. It is no exaggeration to assert that the condition of these young workers was indistinguishable from slavery.

The truth about the conditions of child labour in the factories was not realised by the general public, and, even when knowledge of it spread, people were not shocked at the idea of children of five, six, or seven doing factory work. The notion that a child of the working classes should not begin to earn his living until he reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen, and that until then his time should be divided between study and recreation, is of quite modern growth. Child labour existed before the factory system was introduced; it is probable that under the cottage system of textile work toddlers of three or four were expected to assist in simple processes. The employment of children in factories was not looked upon, in itself, as an evil at all.

In course of time, however, as the conditions of factory employment of young children became known, the public conscience was stirred. Kindly men and women thought it proper that children should be employed, and that correction should be administered in moderation, but would not admit that brutality and underfeeding and excessive hours were necessary accompaniments of child labour. Yet politicians and economists were agreed that it was essential to the prosperity of industry that it should be left alone, and that it would be improper for the State to interfere in the "free" contract between employer and employee. It was held that the best possible contract of employment, the one which would be most satisfactory, was necessarily that which was reached as the result of master and workman bargaining together without outside interference.

A little consideration will show the absurdity of this view. A workman seeking employment cannot bargain on equal terms with his prospective employer. He may have a family to support, and his failure to obtain work may mean great hardship to his dependants. To the employer it matters little whether he selects one man or another. Under these conditions the workman is forced to accept the employer's terms, however unsatisfactory they may be. And if adult workmen were unable to bargain with masters upon equal terms it was certain that children, whose intelligence was undeveloped and whose knowledge of the world was limited, would fail to secure satisfactory terms of employment.

It came to be recognised, therefore, that it would not be inconsistent with *laissez-faire* principles for the State to step

in and assist those who were unable to make a satisfactory bargain for themselves. A series of factory laws came into existence, the object of which was to protect those, and only those, who were in need of assistance in the framing of conditions of employment. The earliest of these laws applied only to pauper apprentices; they were extended from time to time to include other classes of factory employees, but it was not till the middle of the nineteenth century that it was recognised that men of full age were not in a position to demand equitable terms of employment for themselves, and that they as well as others needed the protection of the State.

The first Factory Act was passed in 1802. It dealt only with apprentices in cotton and woollen factories. Their hours of work were to be limited to twelve per day, and they were not to be kept at work after nine at night. Rules were made on such matters as their clothing, their instruction, their religious observances and the condition of the factory premises. Visitors were to be appointed to inspect the factories, but there was little real effort made to ensure the enforcement of the act.

It could not have been altogether a dead letter, however, since some manufacturers thought it worth while to evade it by ceasing to take pauper apprentices, employing wage-earning children instead. The act of 1802 did not apply to them, and there was no difficulty in securing them in sufficient numbers and at exceedingly low cost. The wages of adult work-people were so low that they were compelled to permit the employment of their children, and if the latter were subjected to excessive hours or brutal treatment their parents dared not protest, lest their own employment should be imperilled.

An act passed in 1819 applied to all children employed in cotton factories, whether as apprentices or wage-earners, but it was not applicable to those in other factories. Children under nine were not to be employed, and those who were under sixteen were not to work more than twelve hours per day. This, like the earlier act, was inadequately enforced and easily evaded. Further acts, in 1825 and 1831, amended the law only in details.

These early acts on the subject of child labour in factories were, for several reasons, ineffective. Although the factories were to be visited once or twice a year by persons appointed for the purpose, it was unlikely that serious evasions of the law would be brought to light. It was impossible to enforce

rules relating to hours of work unless the times of opening and closing were fixed by law. The workers themselves dared not give information about excessive hours lest they should be discharged from their employment. Nor could the prohibition of the labour of children under nine be made effective, since no definite proof of age existed.

The first effective Factory Act, introduced by Lord Althorp and supported by Lord Ashley, was passed by the reformed Parliament in 1833. It was applicable to all factories (except silk mills), and it continued the prohibition of the employment of children under nine. Children between nine and thirteen were to be employed only on the half-time system; they were to work in the factory for not more than nine hours per day, or forty-eight hours per week, and they were to attend school for not less than two hours per day, the school fees being charged to their employers. The hours of labour of young people between thirteen and eighteen were limited to twelve per day, or sixty-nine per week, and they were not to work at night. In order to secure the observance of the act four factory inspectors were appointed, and they were empowered to inflict fines upon manufacturers who violated the law.

The half-time system introduced in 1833 played an important part in English industrial life in the nineteenth century, and it is interesting to notice that it marked the beginning of the compulsory education of children. Not all children were yet obliged to attend school, but those who worked in the factories were henceforth to receive some education. The factory inspectors who replaced the visitors appointed under the earlier laws were more efficient in the enforcement of the law. The visitors had been local people, amateurs at the work, and they were in many cases on friendly terms with the factory owners. Inspectors were strangers who devoted their whole time to this work, and they acted without any bias in favour of the manufacturer. The power to inflict fines went too far, however, since the employer was given no opportunity of offering a defence to the charge of breaking the law.

Peel in 1844 carried a second effective Factory Act, which extended and modified the provisions of Althorp's Act in many ways. The age at which a child might begin work in the factory was reduced to eight, and while this may appear to have been a step in the wrong direction it must be remembered that the registration of births, marriages and deaths had been

in existence only since 1836. There had been no means of providing legal proof that a child had attained the age of nine, as required by Althorp's and earlier acts, and it is probable that youngsters of seven and eight were pushed in on the pretext that they were nine. In future, age could be proved by the production of a birth certificate. The act modified the half-time system. Henceforth, the hours of work of children between eight and thirteen were not to exceed six and a half per day, with two hours at school. But an alternative was sanctioned, by which children might go to school and factory on alternate days, and if this were adopted their hours of factory employment were limited to ten per day. In the better organised factories the alternative was accepted, and two shifts of children were employed. The limitation of the working hours of young people was extended to include women, so that by this time the law offered protection to all classes of workpeople in factories except to men. Factory inspectors were deprived of their power of inflicting fines, and owners who offended were dealt with before the local magistrates, a more satisfactory system in every way. It was fairer to the accused person, who was able to put forth his defence, while the greater publicity of the proceedings acted as a deterrent to those who were inclined to evade the regulations.

Much of the difficulty of enforcing factory legislation lay in the fact that the working day extended from half-past five in the morning till half-past eight at night, a period of fifteen hours, and that it was impossible to determine whether children and young people were kept at work for more than the proper time within this period. It was suspected that it was often exceeded, and it was contended by reformers that the hours of work ought to be specified by law.

The agitation for a ten-hours day for all factory workers was carried to a successful issue by the passing of Fielden's Factory Act in 1847. *Laissez-faire* doctrines were abandoned, protection being extended in effect to men. Since, however, the factory day still stretched over a period of fifteen hours it was impossible to determine whether the law was being obeyed. Lord Ashley brought the matter forward, and Sir George Grey proposed a further act in 1850, which specified the hours of work. Factories were to be open only from six till six, and one and a half hours were allowed for meals. This settled the question, for though the working hours were extended to

ten and a half per day there was a limit of sixty hours per week, the time of closing on Saturday being fixed at two.

It is unnecessary, and indeed, impossible, to describe in detail in this book the subsequent enlargements and extensions of the scope of factory legislation. *Laissez-faire* principles have been forgotten. Regulations are made on many other matters than hours of labour. Factory legislation now applies to many other trades, and has developed into a code of rules which is completely understood only by lawyers who specialise in this branch of the law. There is probably still room for improvement, but it may be asserted with some confidence that the evils which characterised the factory system in its early days have been entirely eliminated.

CHAPTER XXXVII

TRADE UNIONISM

TRADE unions, which are so prominent in the industrial world at the present day, are associations of workpeople formed with the purpose of improving the conditions under which they work. Conditions of labour in the Middle Ages were regulated by the gilds, and after 1563 they were subject to the law of the land. By a law passed in that year, the Statute of Artificers, apprenticeship was enforced, the proportion of skilled workmen to apprentices was fixed, rules were made for settling rates of wages, and the hours of work were prescribed. This law was popular with workmen, and while it was enforced there was no need for trade unions. Many workmen hoped to become masters in course of time, and they had no desire to bring about improvements in their own conditions of work which might be to their disadvantage when they employed others. Much industry, moreover, was carried on in the homes of the workers, and as they toiled separately, and rarely or never met, no opportunity was offered for the formation of any kind of union.

With the coming of the factory system this state of affairs passed away. As has often been pointed out in these pages, the principles of *laissez-faire* were widely held at this time. It was believed to be economically unsound to regulate conditions of labour, and it was thought that the best terms of employment were necessarily those that were arrived at by master and workman bargaining together. The falsity of this view has been noted already, but it led to the non-enforcement of the Statute of Artificers, so that industrial conditions in the early factory towns were entirely unregulated. In the factories were large bodies of workpeople who had no hope of rising to a better position in life, and who, by their daily association with one another, had the opportunity to place their views before their employers. Towards the end of the eighteenth century many small trade unions came into existence.

The earliest unions tried to obtain improvement in the condition of workpeople by securing observance of the Statute of Artificers. The factories contained numbers of children taken from workhouses, who, under the Poor Law of 1601, were bound as apprentices to the factory owners. But, although the law of 1601 was obeyed, that of 1563 was disregarded. The proportion between the numbers of skilled workmen and apprentices was not maintained, and the workmen, by their unions, called attention to this breach of the law, in order that their chances of employment might be increased. Employers did not view the unions with favour, and the constant petitions to Parliament for the observance of the Statute of Artificers led, not to its enforcement, but, in 1813 and 1814, to its repeal.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the governing classes in Great Britain were much alarmed at the possibility of the common people imitating the French, and took measures to repress any movement which might be regarded as revolutionary in tendency. In 1799 and 1800 Combination Laws were passed, by which associations in restraint of trade were made illegal. These laws applied to associations of masters as well as those of men, but in practice they were enforced against the latter and not against the former.

From 1799 to 1824 trade unionism was illegal. Workmen who dared to associate with their fellows in demanding higher wages or shorter hours were liable to be, and in many cases were, sent to prison. This harshness on the part of the authorities had an economic as well as a political basis. Not only were unions feared as being revolutionary, but it was contended that they were unfair to the great body of the working classes. It was supposed that wages, being paid out of a fixed Wage Fund, could not be increased, and that if, by forming a union, one group of men secured an advance others must necessarily receive less.

Trade unions did not entirely cease to exist during this period. Friendly societies (which received from members contributions to a fund out of which payment was made to them in time of sickness) were not illegal, and some friendly societies were really trade unions in disguise. Other unions were formed in defiance of the law, and met in secret at the houses of members or in the back rooms of public-houses. Doors and passages were guarded, these precautions being

taken in order that spies and informers should not gain admission to the meetings.

In 1824 the Combination Laws were relaxed to the extent that workmen were permitted to combine for the purpose of bargaining with employers on the subject of wages and hours of labour, but for no other object whatever. Trade unions no longer met secretly, but could come into the light of day, and many new, and short-lived, unions were formed. The usual procedure was that subscriptions were paid by members to a fund which, sooner or later, was used to support them during a strike. The inevitable strike occurred, the fund was exhausted, the men returned to work, and the union collapsed.

A few of the unions formed at this time were better planned, and proved to be more permanent, some of them being still in existence. They demanded substantial subscriptions of their members, and they offered friendly society benefits as well as trade benefits. These bodies, which considered payments in time of sickness and at death as of equal importance with allowances during strikes and periods of unemployment, are regarded as constituting the Old Unionism. A characteristic of such unions was the reluctance of their members to strike. Men who had paid money in the expectation of receiving benefits in time of sickness were unwilling to see the fund from which these payments should be made dissipated in a long dispute with employers.

It was certain, however, that the aims and activities of most of these unions were outside the limits permitted by the act of 1824, and the increase in their numbers and importance led to an attempt on the part of the employers to bring about their suppression. In 1867 a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate certain charges brought against trade unions. But if the Commission was expected to condemn the unions it failed to do so. It had been asserted that trade unions fomented strikes and encouraged violence; the commission reported that violence was to be found chiefly where there was no union, and that the strongest unions were opposed to strikes. It recommended that trade unions should be legalised for all purposes.

The Trade Union Act of 1871 gave the unions a legal right to exist. A list of registered unions was to be kept, although registration was not made compulsory, and such unions were

empowered to accumulate funds and to hold property. Amending acts were passed in 1875, to protect workmen on strike from prosecution for conspiracy, and in 1876, to state conditions under which the registration of a union might be cancelled.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the New Unionism developed. Trade unions formed at this time did not aim at the provision of friendly benefits, but held that the State should protect the workman against the hardships consequent upon sickness, unemployment and old age. Artisans in towns possessed votes after 1867, and the franchise was extended to agricultural labourers in 1884, and the organisers of the new unions considered that the working classes could secure these benefits by direct political action. The growth of the Labour party, referred to elsewhere, has been due mainly, though by no means entirely, to the New Unionism.

Most of the successful unions formed in the nineteenth century were composed of men in skilled trades. Trade unionism grew more slowly among unskilled workers. They were, as a rule, less intelligent than skilled workmen, and they failed to understand that substantial benefits might be obtained by united action. Their wages were low, and their contributions were necessarily small, while, since they were unskilled, they could, in the event of a strike, be easily replaced. In 1887 a union was formed among London dock labourers, who in 1889 struck work in order to obtain a minimum wage of sixpence per hour. The success of the great dock strike stimulated the formation of other unions of unskilled workers.

Until towards the close of the nineteenth century trade unions were generally isolated, having no connection with unions in other branches of industry, and were often only local, not being in touch with unions of similar workers in other parts of the country. The wiser trade union leaders realised that the interests of the working classes in all industries were in the main identical, and that the prosperity or depression of one group affected all others. It was understood, too, that one large union in an industry would be more influential than many small ones, and several large groups were formed. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain was established in 1889, and similar federations followed in the printing and building trades and among railway and transport workers, while in 1899 a General Federation of Trade Unions came into existence. A congress of trade unions had met every year since 1871; in

the twentieth century it became of great importance in determining the trend of trade union policy.

It is unnecessary to refer in detail to the various strikes which have occurred among miners, transport workers, and engineering and railway workers in recent years. With the growth of large federations it has become increasingly clear that in these disputes between employers and employees a third party, the general public, is affected, and that, in consequence, the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of satisfactory conditions of work are matters of national importance. In large industries, wages boards, conciliation boards, arbitration tribunals and Whitley Councils contribute to the settlement of disputes which formerly led to strikes and lock-outs.

Trade unions had a hard fight to secure recognition from employers. Not many years ago it was common in an industrial dispute for employers to assert that they would negotiate with their own men, but not with the union to which the men belonged, since it contained members not immediately involved in the dispute. Perhaps the most striking evidence of the growth of the influence and importance of trade unions in industrial organisation is to be found in the fact that at the present day employers tend to take the opposite view. They refuse to negotiate with their own men on the outbreak of an "unofficial" strike, one which has not received trade union sanction.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

AGRICULTURE IN GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In spite of the remarkable developments which took place in industry and commerce between 1750 and 1850 agriculture remained the foremost single industry in Great Britain. During the nineteenth century a larger number of people obtained a living from the cultivation of the soil than from any other single industry. Agriculture was in a flourishing condition during the French wars at the beginning of the century, but after 1815 it entered upon a period of depression which lasted until 1850. The third quarter of the century was a time of prosperity, which was succeeded, after 1875, by a renewal of depression. In the early years of the twentieth century there were signs of recovery, and the period of the European War, 1914–18, was a time of prosperity for all connected with the land.

The rural community in the nineteenth century consisted of three classes, which may be distinguished as upper, middle and lower. The upper class was made up of the country squires, who possessed large estates and were regarded as the élite of "county" society. In the early years of the century they alone possessed political power, for they alone were eligible for membership of the House of Commons, whose doors were not thrown open to landless men until 1858. The squire's estate consisted of a number of farms, of which one, known as the home farm, was directly worked by a bailiff on behalf of its owner. The other farms were let on lease to tenant-farmers, who formed the middle class. They were men of substance who possessed a fair amount of capital and were able to obtain a comfortable living. They employed labourers on the work of the farms, men who were very badly paid, and whose work was sometimes regarded by townsfolk as unskilled, though as a matter of fact it demanded a degree of training and skill in excess of what was required for many urban occupations. The wages of agricultural labourers were so low that it is difficult to understand how they and their

families managed to avoid starvation. But though they were badly off their position cannot be measured quite accurately by reference to their money-wages alone. They lived in cottages which were supplied either rent-free or at only a nominal rent. The cottage usually had a garden on which an appreciable quantity of vegetable food could be grown, and it was possible for the labourer to add to his resources by keeping pigs and poultry. Good feeling existed between the different classes of rural society, and kindliness was often shown to people in distress by those who were better off.

During the Napoleonic War all classes connected with agriculture prospered. The necessity of producing food at home without relying to any great extent upon imports caused much land to be brought into cultivation. The squire received high rents for his farms, the farmer received high prices for his produce, and the labourer, whose wages were low, received a dole from the parish funds to supplement them.

After the return of peace agriculture fell upon evil days. Much land went out of cultivation, and rents fell. An attempt was made to stabilise prices by the passing of the Corn Law of 1815 (referred to elsewhere). This famous law inflicted the maximum of hardship on the poor of town and country alike without affording the expected relief to farmer and squire. Rents continued to fall, and market prices fluctuated violently. The position was made worse by the unsatisfactory nature of several of the harvests in the years following 1815. In 1828 the Corn Law was modified, a sliding scale being substituted for the provision of the act of 1815, but little improvement was effected.

In 1834 the first step was taken to improve the labourer's position. The system of giving doles to supplement wages was ended. For a time the poorest class in the country suffered terribly, since wages were so low that the labourers and their families were perilously near actual starvation. But, however great the suffering entailed upon them by the ending of the doles, it was necessary to take this step in order to rescue these people from the pauperism and degradation involved in the Speenhamland system. In course of time wages slowly rose to a more satisfactory level.

The repeal of the Corn Law in 1846 was opposed violently by the landed interest in Parliament. The squires saw in this measure the ruin of agriculture. Yet the industry was not

ruined, and corn prices fluctuated much less violently during the thirty years following the repeal than in the similar period of the existence of the law.

The earlier half of Victoria's reign was a period of progress and improvement in agriculture, though the industry can be regarded as really prosperous only between 1850 and 1875. Better methods of cultivation were followed. Manures and fertilisers (bone-meal, phosphates and guano) were applied to the land, and machinery was used to a greater extent than hitherto for such operations as ploughing, reaping, sowing and threshing. Harvests were good, and the increase in the population maintained the demand for farm products, so that prices remained satisfactory. The establishment of a network of railways facilitated the marketing of agricultural produce and enabled the farmer to obtain his seed, machinery and manures without difficulty.

Bad times came again in the last quarter of the century. Misfortunes at home were coupled with competition from abroad. Drought in some years, late frosts in others, excessive rainfall in others, contributed to the spoiling of harvests. Diseases appeared among farm stock. Sheep suffered from liver-rot, cattle from foot-and-mouth disease, pigs from swine fever. The building of transcontinental railways in North America led to settlement on the prairies and the transformation of these fertile lands into great wheat-producing areas. The new railways provided cheap transport to the coast, freights across the Atlantic were cut to the lowest possible point, and since other countries by their tariffs kept this North American wheat out it flooded the British market. Cheap wheat began to appear from the United States in the seventies and from Canada in the eighties (the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed by 1885). Wheat was imported also from Russia and India and the Argentine, and was sold at a price at which the British farmer could not possibly compete and make a profit. This was not all. The development of refrigerating processes made it possible for frozen mutton to be sent from Australia and New Zealand and frozen beef from the Argentine to Great Britain, while quantities of canned meats were received from the United States.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century English agriculture was in a desperate condition. Many farms went entirely out of cultivation and rents fell steadily, so that

landowners had to be satisfied with much reduced incomes. Labourers demanded higher wages at a time when farmers were forced to reduce them, and many young men left the country and went to live and work in towns. Yet the extraordinary growth of the population (it had doubled in the first half of the century and doubled again in the second half) rendered necessary this huge importation of food, and any suggestion of reimposing the Corn Law would have been scouted as impracticable. The prosperity of a class could not be purchased at the price of imposing hardship on the nation as a whole.

In the early years of the twentieth century there was some improvement in the condition of agriculture. Farmers brought their methods up to date. Agriculture was studied from a scientific standpoint. In some counties agricultural research was undertaken by trained men, who were able to give advice with regard to suitable courses of rotation to farmers who sought their opinion. Many farmers ceased to grow wheat, and directed their efforts to the production of other crops. Market-gardening, the production of fruit and vegetables for the markets of large towns, proved to be profitable, and the increased use of milk, butter and cheese led to the development of dairy-farming. In stock-breeding the British farmer held his own, and on some farms were bred pedigree cattle and sheep which fetched very high prices when sold abroad.

The necessity of producing a larger proportion of the nation's food at home during the war of 1914–18 led to a temporary revival of agricultural prosperity. Much land which had been under grass was ploughed again, and home-grown wheat fetched very high prices, at times exceeding one hundred shillings per quarter. In the succeeding years of peace there has been a reaction, and agriculture appears again to be depressed. But by the use of up-to-date machinery, by attention to products which are most in demand and which fetch the best prices, and by co-operative buying and marketing, farmers are able to make a living. In some directions, notably in stock-breeding, they are more than able to hold their own. Even in wheat-growing the best farmers can still achieve remarkable results. In the autumn of 1929 an Essex farmer harvested ninety-three bushels of wheat to the acre. In view of such facts as this it is safe to assert that there is still a future for British agriculture.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE ORGANISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The ordinary inhabitant of city or village is more immediately affected by the government of the locality in which he lives than by that of the State. Decisions on matters of national importance will ultimately affect him, but the provision of drainage, water supply, street lighting and other such things ministers to his comfort daily. Local government has existed for centuries, but changes have occurred from time to time, and the system of to-day has been established only recently, though some of its features are ancient.

In the Middle Ages England consisted of a number of shires, or counties, each of which was divided into several hundreds, and these, in their turn, contained a number of manors. These areas still exist, although the hundred is now quite unimportant, and the ordinary division of the county for purposes of local government is the district. The rural parish of the present day is, however, in many cases identical with the ancient manor. In addition to hundreds and manors, the medieval county contained towns which possessed their own system of local government. There was no sort of uniformity in town government, since the composition and powers of town councils depended upon the terms of their charters, and these documents varied. Many towns possessed close corporations, membership of which was held for life. When a vacancy occurred, through death or otherwise, it was filled by the remaining councillors choosing a new member. The Municipal Corporations Reform Act, 1835, ended this state of affairs by establishing elected councils, although, as a concession to the adherents of the old system, it was arranged that one-fourth of the council should consist of aldermen, who were to be chosen by their colleagues. Some modifications in the constitution and powers of town councils were made by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, and, except for

changes in matters of detail, the system as then settled has continued to the present day.

Edward III appointed, in each county, commissioners of the peace, who soon came to be known as justices of the peace. Their duties were manifold, and increased as time went on. They held courts for the trial of slight offences, and in this capacity the justices were magistrates. They met four times a year in Quarter Session, and at these meetings they transacted the business of the county and directed its affairs. Practically every landowner of substance was a justice of the peace, so that the government of the counties was entirely in the hands of the landed gentry. This system of county government lasted until 1888.

For many purposes, however, the parish was the unit of local government. By the Poor Law of 1601 each parish was made responsible for the maintenance of its own poor. With the abandonment of the *laissez-faire* attitude during the nineteenth century, additional functions were assigned to the localities, and the parish was usually selected as the unit of administration. But many parishes were small, and it was often convenient to group them into districts for special purposes. It is remarkable, however, that when this grouping was achieved for one purpose it was not allowed to stand for others. In 1834 the Poor Law was reformed, and parishes were grouped into unions. The ancient hundreds might have been, but were not, selected as the new Poor Law districts. Instead, an entirely new grouping, having no relation to the hundreds, was worked out. A few years later, parishes which were made responsible for the maintenance of highways were grouped into Highway districts, but these were not identical with the Poor Law unions. When Burial districts were formed, a district might consist of a single parish or of a combination of parishes quite distinct from existing local government areas. In 1848 a central Board of Health was established, with power to divide counties into sanitary districts, urban and rural, and this power was exercised in total disregard of the existing areas. The establishment, after 1870, of school districts, in which school boards might be set up, was carried out on the same principle, or lack of principle.

By this time local government was in a state bordering on chaos. With the extension of the functions of local government a new type of authority had been called into existence

and a new area had been marked out for each new sphere of action, and no attempt had been made to co-ordinate areas or to introduce uniformity. Such a system (it did not deserve the name) had every conceivable disadvantage. Areas overlapped in all directions. Not only did districts of various kinds fail to coincide; in many cases they crossed county boundaries. Each authority was empowered to levy a rate; each maintained a staff of officials. The cost of administration was great, and waste, extravagance and incompetence prevailed.

Reform was attempted by the Local Government Act of 1888, which dealt specially with county government. Existing county boundaries were revised, and a few of the larger geographical counties were divided into two or more administrative counties. Each of the ridings of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire became an administrative county, Suffolk and Sussex were divided into two, and the Isle of Ely and the Isle of Wight were treated as separate units. A county council, similar in composition to the borough councils, was established in each administrative county. Three-quarters of the members were elected by the people, and one-quarter were aldermen chosen by their colleagues. The authority of the justices of the peace in matters of government was abolished, except in one or two respects; they were allowed to retain, jointly with the county council, control over the county police force. Some of the existing districts, with their boards or commissioners, were abolished, and the purposes for which they were created were transferred to the county councils, but the Poor Law unions, the school districts, and the sanitary districts continued to exist. The change from government by justices of the peace to government by county councils was less revolutionary than might have been expected, since in many county councils the majority of the members were country squires. County government, although on a new basis, was, to a great extent, in the hands of the same people as before.

The act of 1888 dealt also with the government of cities and large towns. Places with a population of fifty thousand or over, and a few others which were not quite so large but which were for other reasons important, were made into county boroughs. Their councils were unchanged in composition, but they received additional powers. While other towns were in some respects subject to the authority of the county councils, county boroughs were to possess "county

powers." Consequently, a county borough is not part of the administrative county in which it is, geographically, situated. From this fact arises the rather curious circumstance that the council of such a county as Lancashire governs only about one-third of the people in the geographical area. All the large towns in Lancashire are county boroughs, and the authority of the county council extends only over the smaller towns and the rural areas.

The Parish Councils Act of 1894 divided the county areas (outside the boroughs) into urban districts and rural districts, and the old sanitary districts were taken as the basis of the division. The sanitary districts, in fact, were renamed as urban or rural districts of the county. Councils were established in the districts with powers and composition not very different from those of towns, except that they did not include aldermen. The rural districts were naturally the most extensive in area but the least populous, and in each parish of a rural district a parish council was set up, or, in very small places, a parish meeting.

By this measure the scheme of local government areas was definitely completed. Certain functions of local government were, however, still administered by distinct authorities, in areas which bore no relation to those set up in 1888 and 1894. School districts and school boards were abolished by the Education Act of 1902, and the administration of education was transferred to the councils of counties, boroughs and urban districts. The Poor Law unions remained, but their abolition was recommended by a Royal Commission which reported in 1909. The whole question of Poor Law reform was shelved for many years, however, and the abolition of the unions and of the Boards of Guardians, and the transference of their powers to county councils and county borough councils, was not ordered until the Local Government Act of 1929 was passed. The abolition was to take effect in April, 1930.

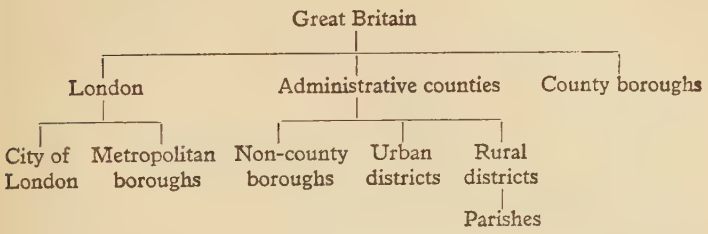
London was dealt with separately under the Local Government Act of 1888. It is not a county borough, but an administrative county, with a county council of its own. The council includes aldermen as well as councillors, but they form only one-seventh of the council, instead of one-fourth. The county of London includes the City of London, which has its own separate form of municipal government, of great antiquity, and twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs, which were brought

into existence in 1899. The education of London was not affected by the Education Act of 1902, but a special act of 1903 abolished the London School Board and transferred its duties to an education committee of the London County Council. In 1902, however, a separate authority, the Metropolitan Water Board, was created for controlling the supply of water to the county of London and to some areas outside its borders. The Metropolitan Asylums Board was established to deal with cases of lunacy and infectious disease, but the Local Government Act of 1929 directed its abolition and that of the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians. The duties of these authorities were to be undertaken by the London County Council.

The duties of local councils, whether of the county, the borough, the urban or rural district, or the parish, are extensive, and are well-known. Drainage, road making and street lighting, the extinguishing of fires, the provision of parks, museums, libraries, markets, allotments and a host of other things, come within their sphere of action. Many municipalities supply electricity, gas and water to private houses, and some provide tramways and omnibuses for the convenience of the public. In other places these things are controlled by private companies, and opinions differ as to the extent to which municipal trading ought to be carried on. Its opponents contend that a council ought not to undertake what can be done equally well by a private company, while its advocates consider that all the chief necessaries of life should be supplied by the municipality. This principle, carried to its logical conclusion, would apply not merely to gas, water and electricity, but would include milk, bread and coal.

From what has been written it would appear that order has been evolved out of the chaos of nineteenth-century local government. In actual fact a good many anomalies still remain. Special and local acts of Parliament have created a good many exceptions to the system, and there is wide divergence of area and population in divisions that are legally similar. Nevertheless, it does not appear that the efficiency of local government is affected by these anomalies and variations, and the vigour of local councils, in areas large and small, in the discharge of their duties, stands in marked contrast to the state of affairs which existed a century ago.

AREAS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT



N.B.—Parishes elsewhere than in rural districts are ecclesiastical divisions, and not local government areas.

CHAPTER XL

SOME RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the Middle Ages Church and State were one. The Church was the State in its religious aspect. This was true in Tudor times also, and, to a lesser degree, in the Stuart period. But at the Revolution the attempt to maintain the identity of Church and State was given up, and freedom of worship was accorded to other religious denominations. While this identity remained the history of the Church was bound up with that of the nation. It was difficult to distinguish heresy (disagreement with the teaching of the Church) from treason (disloyalty to the State). With the advance of toleration, however, the Church has become a body within the State, and its history has become a thing apart from the history of the nation.

The low moral and spiritual condition of the people of England in the eighteenth century, and the efforts of Wesley and his followers to bring about an improvement, have been described in an earlier chapter. The work of the Methodists was not without effect, but much remained to be done.

It cannot be asserted that the Church of England ministered adequately to the spiritual needs of the people at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The bishops ranked as great nobles, and were more interested in political life and in the maintenance of ecclesiastical privilege than in the spiritual welfare of the nation. It has sometimes been stated that every great reform which was proposed in the nineteenth century was opposed by the bishops in the House of Lords. This is an exaggeration, but it is probable that the prelates estimated the value of the proposals which came before them by reference to their effects on property and privilege rather than to their moral and spiritual importance. The status of the parish clergy was far higher than in the eighteenth century. They participated in the social life of the neighbourhood in which they lived; they hunted, they dined, they farmed, and many of them were

justices of the peace. They were not altogether neglectful of their people; they patronised them, however, rather than ministered to them.

Yet no sweeping condemnation of the clergy is possible. Some of the bishops were earnest men who, while mindful of the dignity of their position, were zealous for the advancement of religion. Many of the priests were scholars, and, at a time when schools for the poor were few and school attendance was not compulsory, it was not unknown for a clergyman of high intellectual attainments to gather half a dozen ploughboys at the rectory in the evenings in order to teach them to read and write.

In the nineteenth century, as in the eighteenth, spiritual revival began at Oxford. A band of men at the university, including John Keble, Edward Pusey and John Henry Newman, were gravely concerned about the state of religion in the land. In 1833 Keble preached at Oxford a sermon on "National Apostasy" which is regarded as the beginning of the Oxford movement. The members of the group decided to advance their views by the issue of *Tracts for the Times*, and in a series of these publications they set forth the doctrines of the Church of England, emphasising the theory of apostolic succession and the importance of the sacraments. Controversy was aroused, which became very fierce after the issue of Tract No. XC, in which Newman contended that the doctrines taught in the Thirty-nine Articles were not inconsistent with those of the medieval (and undivided) Catholic Church.

In course of time Newman and some of his friends felt that they could no longer remain in the Church of England, and they seceded to the Church of Rome (in which Newman became a priest, and, in 1879, a cardinal). Their loss weakened the movement only temporarily, and Pusey became its recognised leader, so that for many years its adherents were referred to as Puseyites. The spread of the movement was accompanied by a revival of medieval ceremonial, and the ritualists were for many years subject to much abuse. Their opponents accused them of imitating modern Roman Catholic ways; their adherents contended that they were reviving ceremonial and teaching which had always been legal in the Church of England and which had, unjustifiably, been neglected since the Reformation. The service of Holy Communion was made the central feature of public worship, and the more advanced men

taught the doctrine of the Real Presence in language indistinguishable from that used in the Roman Church. Ritual was not everything, however, to the ritualist. The High Church clergy always emphasised in their teaching that ritual and ceremonial were adjuncts to the spiritual life, and that these things were valueless except as aids to the devotion of the worshipper.

The history of the development of the movement is a story of controversy, persecution and progress. In 1874 Disraeli, by the Public Worship Regulation Act, attempted to suppress ritualism in the Church of England. The readiness of priests to go to prison rather than to submit to dictation in matters of conscience stirred public feeling. Men who had no sympathy with ritualism felt that the time was past when clergy of irreproachable lives should be persecuted on account of religious views which they held in all sincerity. The act has never been repealed, but it is to-day a dead letter. The High Church (or Anglo-Catholic, as it is more frequently called) movement has extended to a remarkable degree in recent years, and in some thousands of churches eucharistic vestments are worn and ritualistic practices prevail.

Anglo-Catholicism has been a source of strength to the Church. The vigour of the clergy of this school of thought has retained within the Church many people who might have left it. Their work in the poorer districts of large towns is well known, and their influence is strong in the sphere of foreign missions.

The Low Church, or Evangelical, movement in the Church of England regards ceremonial as of little importance, and teaches the necessity for individual sanctity of life. It owes much to Charles Simeon, one of its early leaders. The Evangelicals care little for apostolic succession, and there has been a definite tendency in recent years towards co-operation between them and Protestant Nonconformists.

The Modernists are men who have found it difficult to accept traditional theology, in view of modern scientific progress, and they have tried, in all sincerity, to reconcile religious dogma with ascertained scientific truth. They have been able to achieve some degree of success in their task only by treating as allegorical much of what was formerly accepted as literally true. They have been subject to the reproach which has been levelled against the Anglo-Catholics also, of disloyalty to the

Church of England, but of their sincerity, their earnest desire to seek the truth, and the spiritual character of their teaching there is no question.

From what has been written it might appear that the Church of England is in danger of splitting into a number of distinct groups. There is, however, among the clergy of different parties a greater degree of agreement than appears on the surface. The Anglo-Catholic, as well as the Evangelical and the Modernist, regards spiritual life as important. They, as well as the High Churchman, desire to maintain order and dignity in public worship. These currents of thought within the Church indicate that it is alive and active, and that it has shaken off the torpor which characterised it in the eighteenth century.

The old hostility of the Nonconformists to the Church has appreciably diminished in recent years. The Low Church clergy and the Modernists have not hesitated to co-operate with Nonconformist ministers at certain times, and for the latter to preach from church pulpits is no longer as remarkable as it would have been half a century ago. The High Church clergy have consistently opposed such practices, but there is a tendency towards increased friendliness between them and the Nonconformists, based on frank recognition of and respect for differences of opinion.

The Church of England has displayed much vigour, parochial, diocesan and national, in recent years. It has attempted to keep pace with the growth of new urban areas. New parishes have been marked out and new churches have been built. Large dioceses have been divided, and the number of bishops is much in excess of what it was a century ago. The establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1836 was the first step towards the better utilisation of Church property, and the revenues under the control of the Commissioners are used for the provision of stipends for the clergy of the new parishes, for the augmentation of existing stipends, and for church-building. The Church is active overseas. Its organisation extends to every part of the British Empire, and it directs missions to some foreign countries. It has become customary for the Archbishop of Canterbury to summon a conference of Anglican bishops from all parts of the world to meet at Lambeth every ten years, and those entitled to attend this conference now number several hundreds. The Life and Liberty movement,

started by the Rev. William Temple (who has since become Archbishop of York), resulted in 1920 in the establishment of an elected Church Assembly which has power to legislate for the Church.

The position of Protestant Nonconformists improved during the nineteenth century. Though they had enjoyed liberty of public worship since 1689 they were for a long time under legal disabilities, some of which were disregarded while others remained in force. During the nineteenth century they secured such rights as those of marriage in their own chapels and of burial in churchyards, while in 1871 the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to them. The number of sects is considerable; a few are large and important, with nation-wide organisation, while many are small and local. The distinctive feature of present-day Nonconformity appears to be the attachment of greater importance to purity of life than to definite doctrine. It would seem, therefore, that no sound reason exists for excessive subdivision amongst Nonconformists, and there has been of late a distinct tendency towards closer union. Some sects have formally united; most of them co-operate with one another through such organisations as Free Church Councils.

Roman Catholicism has made progress during the past hundred years. The legal disabilities of Papists were removed in 1829, but popular prejudice against them disappeared very slowly. In 1850 a definite Roman Catholic organisation of archbishops and bishops was established in this country, and although an act forbidding the use of territorial titles by these prelates was passed in 1851 it has never been enforced. Much energy has been displayed in the building of churches and cathedrals in all parts of the country, and the avowed aim of the Roman Catholic clergy is to effect the "reconversion of England."

No attempt can be made here to estimate the relative strength of the different churches. Figures of membership are published, but the basis of computation varies, so that no valid comparisons are possible.

One of the most remarkable religious organisations of recent years is the Salvation Army. It was founded by the Rev. William Booth, a Wesleyan minister, to deal especially with the very poor in the slums of great cities. It adopted uniforms for its adherents, and a semi-military organisation.

Its methods of work were original, and were for a long time frowned upon by Churchmen and Nonconformists alike. It was subjected to a good deal of mob hostility in its early years, but its beneficent social work is now generally recognised. It controls a large amount of property, the income from which is used to further its work.

During the nineteenth century Scotland was troubled less by a multiplicity of sects than by controversies within Presbyterianism. The established Church of Scotland was Presbyterian, but many people resented the exercise by laymen of rights of patronage within the Church, and in 1843 a great schism occurred. A large number of ministers and people seceded from the established Church and formed the Free Church of Scotland. This body did not differ from the official Church in any point of doctrine, but it held that no minister ought to be appointed to a parish in defiance of the wishes of the congregation. For many years it was more influential and attracted a larger number of adherents than the Church of Scotland. The law on the subject of patronage was changed in 1874, but the division in the Presbyterian ranks continued until 1929, in which year a formal reunion of the Free Church with the established Church of Scotland was effected.

CHAPTER XLI

CANADA SINCE 1760

After the death of Wolfe at Quebec in 1759 the conquest of the French settlements on the St. Lawrence was completed by Lord Amherst. By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, Canada was left in British possession, but for some years no attempt was made to establish a permanent form of government. The population of the conquered territory numbered about sixty thousand, nearly all of whom were French and Roman Catholic. Amherst remained as military governor of the settlements, and exercised his authority in such a way that the Canadians speedily became reconciled to British rule. Only the French language was understood, and French law as it existed before the conquest continued to be enforced.

In 1774 the British Parliament passed the Quebec Act, which recognised Canada as a Crown Colony. It was to be ruled by a Governor appointed by the British Government, and a Council was established to advise and assist him. The Council included prominent French Canadians as well as English officials, but no attempt was made to make it representative of the settlers. The French had hitherto had no experience, either in France or in North America, of representative government, and neither expected nor understood it. That they were not dissatisfied with the system established in 1774 is evident from their refusal to make common cause with the American colonies against the British Government in the War of American Independence.

During the later stages of the war, and after its conclusion, many American loyalists abandoned their homes in the United States and moved to the north of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. They did not, however, intermingle with the French Canadians, but formed new settlements farther up the river, so that before the end of the century another "Canada" had come into existence, the population of which was definitely English. In religion these people were attached to the Church of England, which became the church of the

settlement. As the colony developed, lands were set apart for the support of the clergy.

The existence of this new colony was recognised by Pitt, who in 1791 secured the passage through Parliament of the Canada Act (sometimes called the Constitutional Act). The French settlements were formed into the province of Lower Canada (to-day known as Quebec), and the English settlements became Upper Canada (now known as Ontario). Separate Governments were established, each province being under the rule of a Governor. Each province was to have a Legislative Assembly, consisting of a lower chamber elected by the people and a council nominated by the Governor. This Assembly was given the power of making laws for the province. The constitution, therefore, bore a general resemblance to that of Great Britain, Governor, Council and elected Chamber in Canada corresponding roughly to King, Lords and Commons at home. But the resemblance was not complete, for in Great Britain it was a well-established principle that the ministry must possess the confidence of the House of Commons. If ministers suffered defeat in the Commons they must either resign or dissolve Parliament, and, if they chose the latter course and failed to secure a majority in the election, they must resign forthwith. In the Canadas, however, ministers were not responsible to their Parliament but only to the Governor who ruled the colony, and criticism in the Assembly was powerless to bring about a change of Government. This is a stage in the evolution of colonial government in which the colony is said to possess representative institutions but not responsible government. Similar Legislative Assemblies had been granted to Nova Scotia as far back as 1758, and to New Brunswick in 1784. Newfoundland received its Legislative Assembly in 1833.

The system thus established lasted in Canada for half a century, a period of great progress and marked prosperity. Population increased steadily, immigrants arriving from the United States and, after 1815, from Great Britain. During the period of distress in Great Britain to which reference has been made elsewhere it was held not to be inconsistent with the economic theories of the time to encourage emigration. The increase of the population on this side of the Atlantic was viewed with anxiety and even alarm. In time past numbers had been kept within reasonable limits by the operation

of a high death-rate, and it was realised that abnormal expansion in numbers could be checked by exporting the surplus population to other parts of the world. Soldiers discharged from the army, paupers from the workhouses, crofters from the Scottish Highlands, were among the new settlers during this period.

In 1837 a rebellion occurred, under the leadership of Papineau in Lower Canada and of Mackenzie in Upper Canada. It was easily suppressed, but the fact of the outbreak indicated that a certain amount of discontent existed among the colonists. Lord Durham was sent to Canada to investigate the conditions which prevailed there and to examine the causes of the discontent. In his report he referred to the existence of strong racial feeling between French and English. As the latter were rapidly increasing in number by immigration the former felt the need of clinging to their national characteristics. In Upper Canada various grievances were brought to light. The more discontented of the English-speaking inhabitants were desirous of separation from Great Britain and of union with the United States. In both provinces there appeared to be a feeling of resentment at the absence of any real self-government, and Lord Durham considered that the time had arrived for the Government to be made more directly responsible to the people of Canada.

By the Reunion Act of 1840 the two Canadas were united into one colony, which was to have a Parliament of two houses. The Upper House was to contain members appointed for life, while the Lower House was to consist of elected representatives. The ministry was henceforth to be responsible to the colonial Parliament, and it was understood that, as in England, ministers must be of the party which commanded a majority in the lower chamber, and that a defeat of the Government would involve either its resignation or the dissolution of Parliament.

Canada thus became the first British colony to be entrusted with "responsible government." For a few years friction developed between Governor and Parliament on the question of ministerial responsibility, but by 1846 it became clear that the Governor was in the position of the Crown at home, and that he must accept ministers of whom Parliament approved. Responsible government developed in the eastern provinces and in Newfoundland at about the same time.

For some years the boundary question caused trouble between Canada and the United States. As settlement extended westwards in both countries the marking-out of a boundary line became necessary. The Americans claimed that the parallel of latitude at 54° 40′ north of the Equator should divide the two countries, a claim which, if admitted, would have included all the best prairie lands within the United States and would have left to Canada little more than the bleak and frozen wastes of the north. In 1842, by the Ashburton Treaty, the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick was settled, and by the Oregon Treaty in 1846 the boundary in the prairie regions and westward to the Pacific was fixed at the forty-ninth parallel. The defence of a frontier line nearly three thousand miles in length might have offered a formidable military problem to both countries had it not been agreed to leave it undefended. There is not a single fortification on either side in any part of this long line.

It was felt in course of time that the Reunion Act could not be regarded as a final solution of the problem of Canadian government. Although it joined Upper and Lower Canada it did not touch the growing settlements to the west, and it did little or nothing to reduce the racial antagonism which existed between the English and French in the two Canadas. There was a flourishing settlement, British Columbia, in the extreme west, and, though much of the prairie land was yet unoccupied, the prospect of a Canada stretching from ocean to ocean was developing. In 1867 the British North America Act was passed, by which the Dominion of Canada came into existence. The union of 1840 was abandoned, and the two provinces were separated, Lower Canada being known henceforth as Quebec and Upper Canada as Ontario. The original Dominion contained four provinces, Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. For the Dominion there was to be a federal Parliament, consisting of two Houses. Members of the Senate were to be chosen for life, and those of the House of Commons were to be directly elected. A problem which had called for resettlement from time to time in Great Britain was met in Canada by a provision for the periodical redistribution of seats. The ministry was to be fully responsible to the House of Commons. Similar Parliaments were to be set up in each province to deal with local affairs. Certain branches of government activity were reserved for the local Parliaments

and everything else was left to the federal Parliament, which, therefore, became the dominant body in Canadian politics. At the head of the Dominion there was to be a Governor-General, representing the Crown, and in each province a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed.

Manitoba, a prairie province, which was increasing rapidly in population and prosperity, joined the Dominion in 1870. Prince Edward Island joined in 1873, and all other provinces and territories east of the Rocky Mountains were included by 1880, though Alberta and Saskatchewan did not attain full provincial status until 1905. The case of British Columbia was more difficult. It was separated from the Dominion by many hundreds of miles of prairie and mountain. For some years after the establishment of the Dominion communication between British Columbia and eastern Canada could be maintained only through the United States. Even postal communication was carried on in this way. The inclusion of the western province within the Dominion was clearly impossible unless a more satisfactory means of communication could be devised, and in 1871 British Columbia joined the Dominion conditionally upon a transcontinental railway being constructed within ten years.

Railway construction was begun by the Dominion Government. Perhaps the period allowed for the completion of the line appeared to be ample; certainly no rapid progress was made. By 1880 some few hundred miles of line had been laid, but it was becoming evident that the work would not be completed by 1881. British Columbia became restive; there was talk of secession from the Dominion. In 1880 the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was formed to carry the work through to completion, and, as the Dominion Government was really desirous of avoiding friction with its western province, very generous terms were granted to the new company. It was presented with the line as far as it had already been constructed (about six hundred and seventy miles), it was paid the sum of twenty-five million dollars, and it was granted all the land necessary for the completion of the line. It was given, further, a belt of land on either side of the line which, in course of time, it could sell to settlers, and it was authorised to cut all the timber needed in constructional work. Needless to say, criticism was aroused by the generosity of these terms, but it is probable that in no other way could the railway have

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been completed. Private capitalists would not have provided money for the construction of a line which was unlikely to pay dividends for many years. Yet its completion (it was opened for through traffic in 1885) was of political and economic importance. It satisfied the British Columbian demand for direct communication with eastern Canada, and it made possible the settlement of the prairies and the development of their natural resources.

Newfoundland has refused to join the Dominion, and remains a separate British colony. For some time Newfoundland and the Dominion were unable to agree on the question of Labrador territory, the island colony claiming that a strip of the coast of Labrador belonged to her. The matter was referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in London, in 1927. Judgment was given in favour of Newfoundland. Yet, although eastern Labrador belongs politically to Newfoundland, geographically it is clearly part of Canada, and it is possible that the Dominion may purchase this territory from its neighbour.

The history of Canada since the formation of the Dominion has been economic rather than political—the story of material progress rather than of political complications. Population has increased, owing to immigration from the United States and Great Britain, and, to a smaller extent, from the continent of Europe, but there are still vast spaces to be filled. It has been estimated that Canada is capable of supporting a population of 150,000,000; at present the people number barely 10,000,000. Agriculture, lumbering and mining remain among the most important industries of the country.

Canadian trade is carried on mainly with the United Kingdom and the United States. Foodstuffs are sent to this country, but timber and minerals find a market in the United States. Efforts have been made to develop Canadian trade with Great Britain, and since 1897 the duties which are charged upon imports have been lowered in the case of goods coming from the mother country. The system of preferential duties has been extended to include other parts of the British Empire, but it is evident that a large part of Canadian trade will always be carried on with the United States. Canadian loyalty to the British Empire was demonstrated during the war of 1914–18. At the outbreak of war the Dominion Government immediately offered to supply an army of a hundred thousand

men to assist Great Britain, and as the magnitude of the effort required to defeat the enemy powers was realised this number was exceeded many times over.

Canada has for many years been independent of British control in her internal affairs. Until a few years ago the foreign relations of Canada were in the hands of the British foreign office, and the Dominion was represented in other countries by British ambassadors. Since the war, however, Canada's independence in all essential features has been recognised by her separate membership of the League of Nations and by the recognition of her right to send her own representatives abroad. There is now a Canadian minister at Washington, and treaties between Canada and the United States are signed by him and not by the British ambassador.

It has been suggested that in course of time Canada might wish to sever the tie that still exists between her and Great Britain. It seems unlikely, however, in view of the fact that her independence in all that matters is not now in question, that she will become either a separate republic or an adjunct of the United States. But there may yet be difficulties in the path of the Dominion. A definite feeling has grown up in the prairie provinces that the Government at Ottawa is not sufficiently in touch with their needs, nor sufficiently alive to their interests. A movement for secession, not from the British Empire but from the Dominion, has appeared in recent years. Its aim is the establishment of a separate Dominion of Western Canada. The movement is not very strong, and may not become strong; its appearance gives opportunity to Canadian statesmen to show that they are conscious of the needs of all parts of the Dominion, and, by removing all possible causes of discontent, to maintain Canadian unity.

CHAPTER XLII

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

ALTHOUGH, during the sixteenth century, there were rumours of the existence of a great southern continent, the earliest definite records of the discovery of Australia date from the early seventeenth century. Luis de Torres, a Spaniard, discovered the strait which bears his name and sighted Cape York in 1606. In 1616 the west coast of Australia was reached by the Dutch, and before the middle of the century Abel Tasman reached the south-east coast. Tasman also sighted New Zealand, and named the north-west point of North Island (Cape Maria Van Diemen) after the lady of his choice. The new discoveries were called New Holland, but neither the Dutch nor any other race made any attempt at exploration or settlement in the interior. The English connection with Australia began with the two visits to that land of William Dampier, pirate and king's officer, in 1688 and 1699, but systematic exploration was first carried out by Captain Cook between 1768 and 1779. Cook formally took possession of Australia on behalf of Great Britain.

The transportation of convicts to the Carolinas ceased when the American colonies obtained their independence. It was not at that time thought desirable that prisoners who were serving long sentences should be kept in England, and a new settlement for convicts was formed in Australia. The first shiploads of prisoners left England in 1787, under the command of Captain Phillip. They reached Botany Bay in 1788, but the permanent settlement was made at Port Jackson, a little farther north, and was named Sydney. The colony met with little success for some years. The convicts were lazy and insubordinate, they were ignorant of agriculture, and for some time the settlement was on the verge of famine.

Attempts were made to encourage free settlers. Land was granted to soldiers and sailors and to other immigrants, as well as to emancipists, or time-expired convicts, who were

not encouraged to return to Great Britain; they were not forbidden to do so, but the Government did not give them a passage home. In course of time squatters established large sheep runs on the extensive pasture lands of the interior, and it became increasingly clear that the future prosperity of the colony would depend upon the squatter with capital at his command rather than upon the emancipist with neither capital, skill, nor inclination to work. Large sheep runs increased in number, and long before the middle of the nineteenth century the export of wool to Great Britain enabled the woollen industry in this country to compete in importance with cotton.

The settlement of Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land) began with convicts in 1803 and with free settlers in 1804. The convicts were employed on public works or were assigned as servants to the free colonists. Many of them escaped and took to bushranging, and trouble arose with the natives, against whom a war of extermination was waged for some years. A more humane policy was adopted after 1835, but the black race continued to diminish in numbers, and by 1876 it was extinct. Only after the abolition of transportation in 1856 did the development of Tasmania proceed satisfactorily.

Free settlement began in West Australia in 1829. In order that settlers might be attracted land was offered at a nominal price, and many large grants were made without any payment at all. The settlers secured large estates which were too widely scattered. There were no markets for their produce, and the colony was almost without roads. Labour was scarce and wages were high. Labourers newly arrived from Great Britain earned so much money that they were soon able to become landowners, and the shortage of labour remained unrelieved. Under such conditions the colony failed to prosper, and the home Government was asked to send convicts to West Australia. This was done between 1849 and 1868, and the labour difficulty was met.

A different policy was followed in the colonisation of South Australia. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, an English writer, contended that, for a colony to be successful, land must not be too cheap. It must be sold to settlers at a "fair price," so that immigrant labourers would have to work for some years before they could afford to become landowners. Wakefield argued, further, that if the price of land was substantial,

there was less likelihood of the formation of estates of great size. The settlement of Adelaide, in 1836, was based upon these principles, land being sold at twelve shillings per acre, and, later, at twenty shillings per acre. But fewer settlers arrived than was anticipated, for while they could obtain land for eighteenpence an acre in West Australia it was not to be expected that they would pay a much higher price in South Australia. The colony incurred a heavy debt, and was saved from bankruptcy only by the discovery of copper.

The colony of New South Wales extended at first over the eastern part of Australia, including what are now the separate provinces of Queensland and Victoria. Until 1823 the Government was military in character, in view of the presence of convicts and emancipists. In 1823 New South Wales became a Crown Colony, in which the Governor was assisted by a council of official members. From time to time non-official members were added to the council, but no elected representatives were included during this period. Transportation to New South Wales was abolished in 1840, and in 1842 representative institutions were granted to the colony. The council was enlarged, and two-thirds of its members were elected by the people.

Some small settlements had been made at Port Phillip as early as 1835. In spite of official discouragement the colonists persevered, and their land was from the beginning free from the convict taint. After the grant of representative institutions to New South Wales the Port Phillip settlement sent six representatives to the Legislative Council at Sydney, but the arrangement was obviously unsatisfactory, since the only means of communication at that time was by sea. In 1850, however, Victoria was separated from New South Wales and received a Legislative Council of its own. The discovery of gold at Bathurst and Ballarat in 1851 led to a rapid increase in the population of the two colonies.

The growth of the population, the cessation of transportation, and the predominance of the free element made possible the grant of responsible government to New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania in 1854. The northern part of New South Wales, known as Queensland, had hitherto been used as a settlement for convicts, and free colonisation was at first forbidden. By 1859, however, it was separated from New South Wales and was given responsible government

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at once. Transportation to West Australia did not cease until 1868. The territory of the colony was large and its population small. It did not receive representative institutions until 1870, and responsible government was not granted until 1890.

With the extension of responsible government to all the Australian colonies the question of federation was bound to come to the front. For some time little progress was made, since the rivalries of the colonies outweighed any sentimental feeling in favour of closer association. There was no uniform tariff policy, and intercolonial tariff barriers existed. When railways were built by the colonial Governments no attempt was made to weld them into a connected system covering the more important parts of the continent. Different gauges were adopted in order that the railway system of each colony should be self-contained and should not feed its neighbours in any way.

Enlightened Australian statesmen realised that more was to be gained by association than by competition, and in the concluding years of the nineteenth century Sir Henry Parkes and Mr. Barton did much useful work in influencing Australian public opinion in favour of federation. Difficulties were at length overcome, a scheme was evolved by a convention which met at Adelaide in 1897, and, after some amendment, it was accepted by popular vote in all the colonies. In 1900 the Australian Commonwealth Act was passed by the British Parliament, and on the first day of the twentieth century the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence.

The Commonwealth followed the Canadian example in the establishment of a federal Parliament for Australia and the retention of local Parliaments for the provinces. In Canada, however, certain functions were reserved for the provincial Parliaments and the residuum was left to the Dominion Parliament. In Australia the opposite course was followed. Certain definite powers were assigned to the Commonwealth Parliament, while everything else was left to the state Parliaments. The result has been that the separate states retain a good deal of their importance. The Australian Commonwealth Act provided that the capital should be fixed at some place in New South Wales not less than a hundred miles from Sydney, and it has been established at Canberra.

The rivalries and jealousies of the Australian colonies during the nineteenth century made difficult the establishment

of the Commonwealth; they have not altogether disappeared. But, though in some of the States a proposal to secede from the Commonwealth has been made, there is no suggestion anywhere in the Commonwealth of secession from the British Empire. To some extent the success of the federation of the Australian colonies has been due to the absence of a racial problem. The French in Canada, the Dutch in South Africa, have contributed valuable elements in the development of the country, but from their presence serious problems have arisen. No other European element has appeared in Australia, and the difficulties of the Commonwealth have not been complicated by racial friction. Nor has serious difficulty arisen with regard to the aborigines. Fighting occurred, indeed, between the early settlers and the blacks, but, as the white population increased, the aborigines were too few and too backward to be a factor in Australian development.

Australia possesses a vast territory, which is only very thinly peopled. More than half the population of the world lives in the continent of Asia. China and Japan are overflowing with surplus people, and it is a prime object of Australian policy to prevent the yellow men from settling in large numbers in Queensland and elsewhere on Australian soil. Yet it may be difficult to preserve a "White Australia" unless the population of the continent increases at a more rapid rate.

The earliest British settlements in New Zealand were made in 1817. No claim of sovereignty was made, however, until 1839, although the Governor of New South Wales was responsible for the maintenance of order. In 1839 New Zealand was annexed by proclamation, and, in the following year, an agreement was made with the Maoris in the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Maoris were more numerous and more intelligent than the aborigines of Australia, and could not be neglected in the development of the colony. By the Treaty of Waitangi they accepted the protection and sovereignty of Great Britain, and their rights to the ownership of land were recognised. It was agreed that private sale and purchase of land should be forbidden. Land was to be sold only by a tribe as a whole and bought only by the Government. The object of the arrangement was to prevent the spoliation of the natives by unscrupulous land-grabbers, and most of the trouble which occurred in subsequent years was due to disregard of the treaty.

New Zealand became a separate Crown Colony in 1841, and in the same year the New Zealand Company was formed. The Company did good work in encouraging settlement, but it acquired much land illegally, in violation of the Treaty of Waitangi. Captain Grey, who became Governor in 1845, proved to be an able administrator. He limited the activities of the Company and secured its abolition in 1851, thus winning the respect and confidence of the natives.

Responsible government was granted to New Zealand in 1852. The Parliament of the colony consisted of two Houses, to the lower of which the Government was responsible. This House contained four Maori representatives.

In spite of Captain Grey's firm measures encroachments on Maori lands continued, and trouble broke out in 1860. For some years guerrilla war was waged between white men and Maoris. Grey was reappointed Governor, and exercised his influence with the natives to restore peace. The war ended in 1871, and since that time the Maoris have been peaceful and the colony has steadily advanced in prosperity.

New Zealand refused to join the Australian Commonwealth, from which it was separated by more than a thousand miles of sea. Preferring to retain its own government, it was accorded the status of "Dominion" in 1907, and its Governor was styled "Governor-General."

CHAPTER XLIII

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

THE earliest settlement at the Cape of Good Hope was made by the Dutch in 1652. It was used as a port of call by Dutch ships trading between Europe and the East, and for many years it had only a small population. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV some Huguenot refugees settled at the Cape (Dutch and Huguenots alike were Calvinistic in religion), and they introduced the cultivation of the vine. The Huguenot immigrants intermingled with and were gradually absorbed by the Dutch, so that there is not, as in Canada, a definitely French element in the population of the colony to-day. In course of time settlements extended into the interior. Solitary farms were established by the Dutch, who solved their labour problem by enslaving the Hottentots.

The French conquered Holland in 1795, and transformed it into the Batavian Republic. The Stadtholder passed into exile, and with his consent Great Britain annexed the Cape. At the Peace of Amiens it was restored to the Dutch, but it was reconquered in 1806, and by the first Treaty of Paris, 1814, it was retained by the British, who paid the restored Dutch Government a sum of money as compensation for its loss.

The population of the Cape was increased by the immigration of many British settlers during the period of distress which followed the Napoleonic War. There was thus, in course of time, a British as well as a Dutch element in the colony. The antagonism which developed between the two races later in the century did not appear at first, since the natives were numerous and the white races instinctively acted together against the black. Dutch law and language continued to be in use, and slavery remained the basis of the economic life of the colony.

Between 1806 and 1833 the Cape was under the rule of a military Governor, who was not assisted even by a council of

officials until 1825. In 1828 the local government system which hitherto had been in force was abolished. British resident magistrates were appointed, English was made to replace Dutch as the official language of the courts, and the free natives were given rights of citizenship. These measures were opposed by the Dutch, and their dislike of British rule dates from this time. The abolition of slavery in 1833 completed their alienation.

The Dutch farmers, who were called Boers, were deeply religious. Their theology, like that of the Dutch in Europe, was Calvinistic, and was based on the Old Testament rather than on the New. They regarded themselves as the chosen people of God, like the Hebrews, and they compared the black peoples of South Africa with the Canaanitic races which were overcome by the Israelites. They held, therefore, that they were entitled to enslave the Hottentots and keep them in permanent subjection, and the grant of freedom and citizenship to the natives aroused bitter feelings among them. British opinion at home and at the Cape was stirred against the Boers by tales of their oppression of and cruelty towards the natives, and it was felt that the black people needed protection against their taskmasters.

In 1833 the Government of the Cape was placed on a more satisfactory footing. It was declared to be a Crown Colony, under the rule of a Governor who was to be assisted by two councils. The Executive Council consisted of officials, men who in a later stage of constitutional development would be called ministers. The Legislative Council comprised, in addition to officials, a number of prominent colonists appointed by the Governor. There was no election of members, and, consequently, no direct representation of the people, but colonial opinion was not entirely ignored.

During the next few years further troubles, with both natives and Boers, had to be faced. In 1834 the Kaffirs invaded the colony, and were repelled after stiff fighting. The Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, proposed to enlarge the colony by fixing its boundaries on a line which was easily defensible against further attack, but the home Government refused to agree. The Boers were indignant. They lived lonely lives, on isolated farms, and they regarded the British action as a refusal to afford them reasonable protection against the danger of native attack.

In 1836 began the Great Trek. Many thousands of Boers, refusing to live any longer under British rule, abandoned their homesteads and moved away into the interior. They crossed the Orange River, and on the farther side of it they founded the Orange Free State. Some of them continued the trek and crossed the Vaal River, and, in the remote interior, hundreds of miles from the coast, founded the Transvaal. In 1838 a third party trekked to the north-east and formed a settlement in Natal. British settlers followed the Boers into Natal, and in 1842 the province was proclaimed to be part of Cape Colony, though in the following year it was declared to be a separate Crown Colony, with a Lieutenant-Governor subordinate to the Governor of the Cape. The Natal Boers, however, resumed their trek and joined their compatriots in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

For some time Great Britain pursued no decided policy towards the Boer settlements. It was felt that Boers and natives needed protection against each other—natives against Boer oppression, and Boers against native attack. In 1848 the Orange Free State was annexed, but alarm was felt in England at the responsibility which was being shouldered, and in 1852, by the Sand River Convention, the independence of the Transvaal was recognised, a course which was followed with regard to the Orange Free State by the Convention of Bloemfontein in 1854.

Constitutional development in Cape Colony and Natal followed the Canadian model. In 1853 in the Cape, and in 1856 in Natal, representative institutions were granted. In each colony a Parliament of two elected chambers was established. The franchise was granted on a wide basis, even natives being permitted to vote in Cape Colony, though not in Natal, where they outnumbered the white population many times. But the ministry was not responsible to the legislature; criticism of ministerial actions in the colonial Assemblies was powerless to bring about a change of Government. Responsible government was granted to Cape Colony in 1872 and to Natal in 1893.

In 1877 the Boer republics were threatened with attack by a warlike native race, the Zulus, and for the protection of the Boers themselves the Transvaal was annexed. The Zulu War followed in 1879, and, although disasters were met with at first, the Zulus were overcome and their military organisation

was destroyed. The British annexed Zululand, which was ruled at first as a separate province, but was joined to Natal in 1897.

Freed from the Zulu danger, the Boers desired to recover their independence. The British military force in Natal was small, and the Boers won a victory which proved to be decisive at the battle of Majuba Hill. Reinforcements were sent out, but the British Government decided to abandon the struggle, and in 1881 it recognised the independence of the Boers.

The discovery of diamonds, in 1870, in a small region on the western border of the Orange Free State, led to an inrush of settlers and to the growth of the mining town of Kimberley. For many years it was believed that the supply of diamonds was strictly limited and that when it was exhausted Kimberley would be deserted. The town, therefore, presented the appearance of a mushroom mining camp rather than of a permanent and well-built city. Improvements in mining methods and further discoveries have now led to the belief that the supply of diamonds is practically inexhaustible, and the danger is no longer of exhaustion but of superabundance, which might lead to cheapening. While, at first, claims were staked out by individual miners, these soon gave way to companies, which in course of time amalgamated, forming the De Beers Consolidated Mines, Limited, which controls the whole of the industry in this area. The De Beers Company employs well-paid native labour in the extraction of the stones. Illicit diamond-buying is regarded as a very serious offence and is punishable with very heavy sentences under the laws of the colony. The company controls the world market for diamonds and is careful not to put too many stones on sale at any one time, lest their value should fall.

The Kimberley diamond field was, as stated above, on the border of Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, and was partly in Boer territory. The region, known as Griqualand West, was annexed to Cape Colony in 1871. Though this action has been criticised as indicating an unprincipled seizure of a valuable region, it must be remembered that the Boer Government, situated some hundreds of miles from the camp, was unable to control the rough elements which assembled there, and the annexation was necessary for the maintenance of order.

Discoveries of gold in small quantities were made in various

parts of South Africa during the nineteenth century, but extensive deposits of ore were found in the eighties in the Witwatersrand, in the Transvaal. The Rand was proclaimed to be a public gold-field in 1886, and a gold rush occurred. The city of Johannesburg came into existence, and from the first it assumed a more permanent aspect than Kimberley. The ore in the Rand was of low grade quality, yielding half an ounce troy, or less, to the ton. Profitable extraction was possible only by the use of machinery and the application of the cyanide process, and the work was carried on by companies which possessed large reserves of capital. Natives were employed for the less skilled work, but white men occupied the more responsible posts. There was, therefore, in the last few years of the nineteenth century a large influx of Englishmen into the Transvaal, men engaged either directly in the mining industry or in the subsidiary occupations that grew up around it. To the Boers these new-comers were Uitlanders (Outlanders), or foreigners. In some parts of the republic they outnumbered the Boers, but they possessed no political rights, and the relations between Dutch and British in the Transvaal became strained. The Boers, under the presidency of Paul Kruger, levied heavy taxation on the mining communities, and made it exceedingly difficult for an Outlander to become a naturalised citizen of the Transvaal. The Outlanders cared little for political rights, however, until the pressure of Boer rule became intolerable.

In 1890 Cecil Rhodes, who had been prominent in the formation of the De Beers Company, became Prime Minister of Cape Colony. In 1889 he formed the British South Africa Company, and obtained for it a royal charter giving it rights over enormous territories to the north of the Transvaal, a region now known as Rhodesia, extending as far north as the Zambesi. A protectorate was established over Bechuanaland, to the west of the Boer republics, which were thus almost (but not quite) surrounded by British territory. Great progress was made with railway construction in the new territories, and it was Rhodes's great ambition to plan a railway which should connect Cairo and the Cape.

In 1895 the friction between Boers and Outlanders reached a stage at which the latter began to consider armed revolt against their rulers. Dr. Jameson, an official of the British South Africa Company, collected a few hundreds of men on

the western border of the Transvaal and invaded the republic. He expected a rising of the Outlanders and the overthrow of Kruger's Government. But the Boers captured the little force, and the position of the Outlanders became worse than before. Negotiations for a satisfactory settlement of the relations between the British and Dutch in the Transvaal were carried on for a few years between the British Government (represented in South Africa by Sir Alfred Milner) and President Kruger, but no agreement was reached, and in October, 1899, war broke out.

The Boers invaded Cape Colony and Natal and won some initial successes, but determined resistance was offered to them at Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking. All of these places were besieged by the Boers; none of them was taken. A large army was dispatched to South Africa under the command of Lord Roberts, with Lord Kitchener as second in command. The besieged towns were relieved and the Boer republics were conquered. The South African War lasted nearly three years, the latter part of this time being mainly devoted to the rounding-up and capturing of isolated parties of Boers who refused to lay down their arms. In May, 1902, the war came to an end with the annexation of the Boer republics, which were henceforth ruled as Crown Colonies.

The work of British and South African statesmen in the twentieth century was to diminish the racial antagonism of British and Dutch and to restore the prosperity of the land after the war. The diamond mines were soon working again; it was a more difficult task to restore the gold mines on the Rand. The supply of native labour had been scattered during the war, and it was difficult to reorganise it. In order to facilitate the restoration of the industry the British Government sanctioned the importation of Chinese coolies as "indentured" labourers, i.e. men working under an agreement for a number of years. In England the system was represented, or misrepresented, as being indistinguishable from slavery, and the cry of "Chinese slavery" led to a crushing defeat of the Balfour Government in the general election of 1906.

Sir Alfred Milner (Lord Milner after 1902) continued in office as High Commissioner until 1905, and did useful work in endeavouring to reduce racial animosity. His policy in this respect was continued by his successor, Lord Selborne. The Balfour Government in 1905 proposed to grant representative

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institutions to the Transvaal and to leave the Orange River Colony (the former Orange Free State) as a Crown Colony, but it fell from office before anything was done. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman succeeded Mr. Balfour as Prime Minister of Great Britain. The Liberals had won the election of 1906 largely on the question of Chinese labour, and they were expected to bring about its abolition. But they preferred to leave the responsibility for its continuance or cessation to the Transvaal, to which, in 1906, they granted responsible government, without insisting upon the usual intermediate stage of representative institutions. The Orange River Colony was granted responsible government in 1907. A former Boer general, Louis Botha, became Prime Minister of the Transvaal. The labour question was settled by permitting the existing Chinese labourers to work out their contracts, but to discontinue further importations, and by the end of 1910 the last Chinese were repatriated. By this time South Africa had largely recovered from the economic disturbance due to the war. The recruitment of native labour on a large scale was again possible, and the Chinese were no longer needed.

When it is remembered that the grant of responsible government to a British colony involves the practical abandonment of British control and the substitution for it of complete self-government, it will be realised that this concession to the Boers, made only five years after the republics had been conquered, was an action to be described as bold and statesmanlike, or rash and ill-advised, according to the point of view. Much would depend on the use which the Boers would make of their recovered independence. In British colonies in other parts of the world, whose loyalty was not in question, the grant of responsible government could be made without difficulty as soon as the colony was sufficiently well-established. But the dominant consideration here was not the political capacity of the Boers but their loyalty, and many people doubted whether Boer antagonism to British rule had died down sufficiently to justify the experiment. On the whole, it has worked well. Although many Boers, with the stubbornness characteristic of their race, refuse to change their attitude, the more enlightened and more responsible of them have accepted the inevitable and have realised the advantage which must accrue to South Africa through the two races pulling together instead of remaining in perpetual antagonism.

By the end of 1907 British South Africa included four colonies with responsible government and some territories which were classed as protectorates, together with others under the rule of the British South Africa Company. The position of the Boer colonies, however, was not yet satisfactory, since they were landlocked, and their trade must necessarily pass through the territories of Cape Colony or of Natal. These colonies, if they chose to do so, could inflict great harm on trade from the interior by the establishment of excessive customs duties. For some years a Customs Convention was in force which regulated matters by agreement, but it was felt that it was no more than a temporary expedient. Under the guidance of Lord Selborne negotiations were opened for some form of closer union. Agreement was reached in 1909, the necessary act was passed through the British Parliament, and the Union of South Africa came into existence on 31st May, 1910.

South Africa followed the example of neither Canada nor Australia. The Union was not a federation, in which each colony was left with a local Parliament to deal with local affairs. It was a fusion of the four colonies into one, and the four colonial Parliaments ceased to exist. Pretoria became the seat of Government, the courts were established at Bloemfontein, and the Parliament of the Union met at Cape Town. The most serious difficulty to be met, that of the ownership and management of the railways, was solved by declaring them to be the property of the Union, to be worked in the interests of the people of the Union as a whole. Profits were not to be devoted to the reduction of taxation but were to be used for schemes of extension, for reductions in rates and fares, and for improving the wages and other labour conditions of railway employees.

The outbreak of the European War in 1914 afforded an opportunity for the irreconcilable element among the Boers to rise in an attempt to throw off the British connection and to re-establish Boer sovereignty throughout South Africa. The leader of the revolt was a former Boer general, De Wet. South Africa as a whole remained loyal, however, and the rising was crushed, without the assistance of Great Britain, by the British and the loyal Boers in the Union. South Africa demonstrated its loyalty to the British Empire by assisting in the conquest of German South-West Africa and by sending

a substantial contingent of troops to take part in the fighting in Europe.

The future relations of South Africa and the British Empire remain in a state of some uncertainty. There has, of recent years, developed a strong movement, supported by men of British and Dutch descent, for the assertion of South African nationhood. The Union enjoys separate membership of the League of Nations, and, although no formal demand has been made for the severance of the British connection and the establishment of a South African republic, there appears to be a tendency in that direction. A separate national flag has been adopted. The Imperial Conference of 1926 declared that the self-governing dominions of the British Empire were henceforth to enjoy equality of status with Great Britain. The exact implication of this declaration, and the extent to which it will satisfy South African aspirations, are matters which the future will determine.

CHAPTER XLIV

BRITISH INFLUENCE IN EGYPT

For some centuries Egypt was a province of the Turkish Empire, which encircled the Levant from the Balkans to Tripoli. Mehemet Ali, the Turkish viceroy in Egypt in the early nineteenth century, strengthened his position at the expense of the sultan, his overlord. In the War of Greek Independence he assisted the Turks against the rebel Greeks, but a few years later he made war upon the sultan and overran Syria and Asia Minor. The powers of Europe intervened, and by the Treaty of London, 1841, Mehemet Ali was deprived of his gains, but, in return, his position as hereditary pasha of Egypt was recognised and he was guaranteed freedom from Turkish interference.

His successor, Said, granted to Ferdinand de Lesseps, a French engineer, permission to construct a canal through the Isthmus of Suez. For this purpose a company was formed in France, and a large block of its shares was assigned to Said in return for his concession to the company. The canal was completed in 1869. Its naval and commercial importance was immense. It opened up a new and more direct route to the East, and the Mediterranean, which had borne the world's commerce in the Middle Ages, recovered much of its former importance.

Said's successor, Ismail, assumed the title of Khedive. In his passion for luxury and his disregard for sound financial principles he was a typical oriental potentate. During his reign he raised several loans for his own purposes, though his unfortunate country was saddled with them as a "National Debt." By 1875 Ismail was in such a serious financial position that he decided to sell his shares in the canal company. Disraeli, then Prime Minister, without awaiting parliamentary sanction for his action, purchased them on behalf of the British Government for the sum of four million pounds. Viewed merely as a financial transaction, this was an excellent

piece of business, since the dividends paid by the canal company have been uniformly satisfactory, and the value of the shares has steadily appreciated. The purchase was more than a financial transaction, however, as Great Britain became the controlling shareholder in the company. The canal was part of the direct route to India, and it was politically important that it should be under British control.

The money received by Ismail proved to be insufficient to avert bankruptcy, and in 1876 he announced his inability to continue the payment of interest upon his loans. His creditors were British and French financiers, and they induced their respective Governments to intervene on their behalf in Egyptian affairs. M. Joubert and Mr. Goschen were appointed to visit Egypt and report upon the state of affairs. Ismail, however, resented the presence of these foreign financiers, and in consequence of his attitude towards them he was, in 1879, deposed.

Tewfik, the son of Ismail, became Khedive in 1879, and during the next year or two British and French financiers went to Egypt to assist in reorganising the public finances. This was the period of the "Dual Control" by Great Britain and France. Much was done to re-establish a condition of solvency, but the presence of foreigners who exercised authority in the land caused among the Egyptians irritation which developed into an armed outbreak in 1882. The leader of the disturbance was Arabi Pasha. For a time the lives of Europeans in Egypt were in grave danger, and it was possible that serious damage might be done to the canal. The French Government refused to co-operate with the British in the suppression of the rebellion, and the latter was compelled to act alone in restoring order. Seymour bombarded Alexandria, and Wolseley landed at Ismailia, a place on the canal. He defeated the Egyptians at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir and occupied Cairo. Arabi was captured and sent to live in exile in Ceylon.

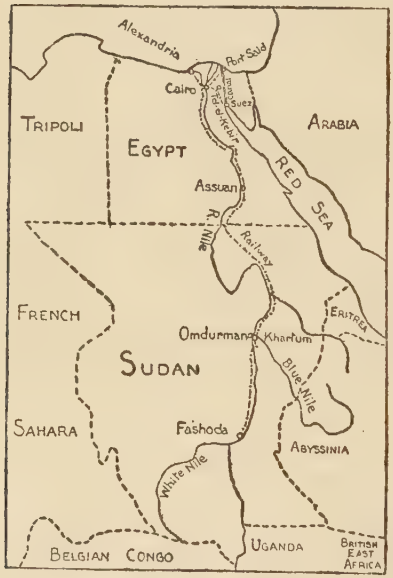
After the year 1882 Egypt was, owing to the withdrawal of the French, under British protection. The position of the British in Egypt was certainly difficult. The land was still, nominally, under the joint European guarantee established in 1841, and, theoretically, it was still a province of the Turkish Empire. But, in fact, the British alone had restored order and had done something towards establishing prosperity and good government in the country. British officials in Egypt possessed no legal authority; they were present merely to "advise" the

Khedive, and the chief of them, Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer) held no higher title than that of Consul-General. There was certainly no intention at that time of maintaining permanent control over the country, but the task of reorganising the Government and strengthening the finances proved to be greater than had been anticipated, and withdrawal from Egypt was postponed indefinitely.

The Sudan was a province to the south of Egypt, higher up the River Nile. Some garrisons were stationed at isolated spots in order to keep order. In 1883 an outbreak of religious fanaticism occurred. The Mahdi, whose followers were called Dervishes, took up arms against the troops, and in a fight against him a British general, Hicks Pasha, was slain. The forces in the Sudan were evidently too small to withstand the Mahdi, and it was decided to withdraw them. Gordon was sent to the Sudan for the purpose of supervising the evacuation. Many people were sent down the Nile, but Gordon's position in Khartum became critical. The Gladstone Government organised a relief expedition under Wolseley, but delays occurred, and when the expedition was able to advance it moved slowly. Khartum was at last reached—one day after Gordon was slain by the Dervishes. The Sudan was abandoned to the followers of the Mahdi for many years.

The reorganisation of Egyptian government in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century was thorough and far-reaching. Railways and canals were built, and irrigation works were established. The prosperity of Egyptian agriculture depended upon the annual flooding of low-lying lands by the surplus waters of the Nile. The extent of these floods varied year by year, excess and deficiency alike being disastrous to the cultivators. By the building of dams, such as the great dam at Assuan, which was completed in 1898, and the construction of reservoirs in which excess water could be stored and from which deficiency could be made good, the floods were regulated, to the lasting advantage of the peasantry. By the cutting of irrigation canals, which were supplied with water from these same reservoirs, large tracts which had hitherto been sterile were brought into cultivation. By the end of the nineteenth century a substantially larger area had been brought into tillage than ever before. This increase in Egyptian prosperity was reflected in the improvement in public finance, for it was found possible to obtain an adequate revenue from

a lower scale of taxation. Some improvement was effected in public health, but real progress towards a satisfactory state of affairs in this direction was necessarily slow among a peasantry ignorant of the most elementary rules of health. People who lived under squalid conditions in Egyptian villages were subject to infectious diseases which it was difficult to control.



Egypt and the Sudan

Some progress was made, however, in combating the prevalence of ophthalmia. A system of public education was begun, and some reform was effected in Egyptian courts. An efficient police force was established, and efforts were made to reduce bribery.

The construction of a railway towards the south enabled the reconquest of the Sudan to be undertaken. The expedition which was organised for this purpose was placed under the command of Sir Herbert Kitchener (afterwards Lord Kitchener). In the later stages of its march it moved forward with the railway. The Mahdi was by this time dead; the Dervishes were overthrown at the Battle of Omdurman, and Khartum was reoccupied. Since the beginning of the twentieth century the Sudan, from being a wild and lawless region occupied only by religious fanatics, has become a peaceful and prosperous province, in which large areas are devoted to the growth of cotton.

The British occupation of Egypt during this period was viewed with dislike by the French, who, although they had declined to act jointly with the British in the restoration of order in 1882, were not disposed to acquiesce in a permanent British occupation of the country. After the conquest of the Sudan in 1898 a French expedition under Major Marchand

occupied Fashoda on the upper Nile in 1899. War between Great Britain and France appeared to be imminent, but Marchand was withdrawn, and war was averted. In 1904 however, when the Entente came into existence, the French recognised the British right to occupy Egypt in return for British recognition of certain French claims in Morocco.

On the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey in November, 1914, the nominal connection of Egypt with the Turkish Empire was declared to be at an end, and a protectorate was proclaimed. The Khedive, who was suspected of disloyalty, was deposed, and a Sultan of Egypt was appointed. Efforts were made by the Turks to attack the canal zone, but adequate forces defended it, drove the Turks back, and conquered Palestine from them.

In spite of the material prosperity which has been brought to the country by the British occupation, Egyptian antagonism to the presence of foreigners in positions of authority in their country has not died away, and there exists a strong body of opinion which aspires to the complete independence of the country. The great difficulty in the way of a complete withdrawal from Egypt lies in the necessity for control of the canal. Mr. Lloyd George, however, in 1922 renounced the protectorate and conceded the Egyptian demand for self-government, subject only to a few reservations, of which the defence of the canal was the most important.

CHAPTER XLV

INDIA SINCE 1858

THE India Act of 1858 conferred the sovereignty over India upon the queen. The general direction of affairs and the control of policy was to be in the hands of a Secretary of State for India, and the actual government was to be in charge of a Viceroy, whose authority would extend to every part of the land and be exercised through Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Commissioners. In 1877 Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India.

The post of Viceroy has been filled by a long succession of men of high rank and, for the most part, of great capacity. One-sixth of the people of the world live in India. Many races, religions and languages are represented, and the problems of government have been numerous and weighty. Mistakes have sometimes been made, but the men who have been responsible for the government of India have devoted themselves to their task in no half-hearted manner, and in the seventy years which have elapsed since the mutiny they have transformed the country in many ways.

Wars have occurred from time to time, but the elimination of native princes has not been a feature of British policy. So long as an Indian ruler is loyal and governs his state with a reasonable degree of efficiency no attempt is made to interfere with his freedom of action. A British Resident is attached to each important native court, and it is his duty to advise the ruler as occasion offers, but he cannot compel the prince to accept his advice, and the British Government will not intervene to back him up unless the state suffers from gross misrule. The policy of non-annexation has been carried out so rigidly that on the rare occasions on which it has been necessary to depose an Indian prince it has been the practice to enthrone another in his place, either at once or after an interval, instead of confiscating his territory and putting it under direct British

rule. The only important annexation since 1858 has been Burmah, which was conquered in 1887.

The problem of the north-west remained to be solved, and an Afghan War was fought in 1878–80. Later in the century the frontier was extended, and the marauding tribes of the mountain region to the north-west came into contact with the British. Severe fighting was necessary before they could be induced to submit. Before the end of the century agreement was reached with Russia on the subject of boundaries and spheres of influence, and the problem of the defence of the north-west frontier became less important.

While the Company still ruled India communication was in a primitive condition. Roads were almost non-existent, important cities being connected by mere rough tracks. Not until the time of Lord Dalhousie was any attempt made to improve them. Dalhousie planned the construction of railways as well as roads, but progress was slow, and difficulties were enormous. Every rail and sleeper, every coach and locomotive, had to be imported from Great Britain at a time when the voyage was made by way of the Cape. The natives were not well fitted for railway work, and navvies and artisans, as well as engineers, had to come from Great Britain. Financial difficulties had to be faced, for it was doubtful whether the natives would use the railways, on account of their caste prejudices. But all obstacles were overcome, and the country has been covered with a network of lines, or, rather, with two networks. Uniformity of gauge has not been maintained, some lines being built with a width of 5 ft. 6 in. and others to metre gauge. There are some twenty thousand miles of line of each gauge, both systems extending into all parts of the country. The lines have been built partly by private companies and partly by the Indian Government, and the system has been of tremendous importance in many ways, notably in connection with famine relief.

India is mainly agricultural, and three-quarters of the people dwell in villages and obtain a living by the cultivation of the land. They depend upon the periodic rains, or monsoons, for the success of their efforts, and the rains are sometimes deficient or fail altogether. In earlier times this was accepted by the people with characteristic oriental fatalism, but under British rule extensive irrigation works have been constructed in many of the provinces. "Tanks," or small

reservoirs, are used for the collection of surface waters, especially in southern India. Wells are sunk in the Ganges valley, and yield a supply of water at small cost. In various parts of the country irrigation canals have been constructed which are fed from great rivers, and they enable agriculture to be carried on independently of the monsoons. Whole regions formerly barren are now under regular cultivation as a result of these works. It is estimated that cultivation over an area of more than fifty million acres is dependent upon irrigation works.

In time past India has suffered severely from time to time from famines. These occasional visitations have been accepted by the people as inevitable, and until recent times no organised effort on a large scale has been made to combat them. Famines were due to the failure of the crops in consequence of the insufficiency of monsoon rainfall. But, India being so large, this never happened in all parts at the same time, and while food was scarce in some provinces it was plentiful in others. Owing, however, to the absence of means of communication before the middle of the nineteenth century, it was impossible to send food from one part of the country to another, so that the solution of the problem has been connected with the construction of railways. Food is now carried by rail from regions where it is abundant to the famine areas. The Government of India maintains a meteorological service which watches and measures the amount of rainfall in various parts of the country. Deficiency is reported, and, when necessary, provinces are proclaimed to be in a state of famine. This does not now mean that people are starving, but that relief works are open. In accordance with prearranged plans food is brought from the more fortunate regions into the famine provinces, and is distributed under official supervision. The system has been worked out so completely and thoroughly that it is possible to state that deaths no longer occur in India from famine. With the extension of irrigation works and the lessening dependence of agriculture upon the periodic rains, even the proclamation of provinces as famine areas becomes less frequent as time goes on. British rule in India has conferred many benefits on the land and its people, but none greater than this. A scourge which from time immemorial has visited the country and decimated the people again and again has been overcome by sound organisation and patient work. If no

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other justification could be offered for British rule in India than this, it would be sufficient to assert that "the British Government in India has famine by the throat."

In some other directions progress has been slower. Efforts have been made to introduce western ideas of sanitation and cleanliness and so to reduce the high death-rate from preventable diseases such as plague, cholera and smallpox. Something has been done, but rapid progress cannot be made, for the Indian peasant is fatalistic in this as in other directions, and is disinclined to co-operate with his rulers in effecting improvement. The advance of education will probably lead in time to greater appreciation of the advantages to be obtained from following western ideas of hygiene, but education is in a backward condition. The peasants as a whole are illiterate, and while some of the boys receive instruction in mission schools very few girls receive any education at all.

India contains a population of 350,000,000, of whom 239,000,000 are Hindu and 78,000,000 are Mohammedan, various other religions, including Christianity, accounting for the remaining 33,000,000. In race the people are much more diversified, and many languages are spoken in different parts of the country. Some of the peoples of India regard other Indian races as more alien to themselves than the British. For these reasons it is impossible to look upon India as a nation. Nationality, as understood in Europe, can be achieved only as the result of generations of intercourse and intercommunication, and until the latter part of the nineteenth century each village was a self-contained unit. People rarely travelled from their homes, and there was very little intermixture of races. Nevertheless, in spite of the absence of any spirit of nationality, it has been the policy of the British Government in India to associate natives with white men in the work of ruling the country. Natives are appointed to responsible positions in the civil service, they are eligible for commissions in the Indian army, they become barristers and judges, and they occupy seats on the Viceroy's council. This policy has aroused in the minds of many Indians aspirations for responsible government, similar to that which exists in other parts of the British Empire.

In 1919, by the Government of India Act, a legislature of two chambers was established. Each chamber consists partly of elected and partly of nominated members, and at present

the electorate is necessarily very limited. The Viceroy has power under certain circumstances to override the decisions of the legislature, but the fact that it has been possible to grant to India some form of representative institutions indicates that constitutional progress is being made. Advanced Indian opinion is dissatisfied, and there is continuous agitation for more complete self-government. In 1927 an important commission, under the presidency of Sir John Simon, was set up to examine the whole problem of Indian government. Whatever its immediate recommendations may be, there can be little doubt that the aim of constitutional development in India is the training of the Indians to rule their own land.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The British Empire covers one-quarter of the land area of the globe and includes one-quarter of its people. The political centre of the Empire is Great Britain, and it is through the activity of the people of this country that, during the last three centuries, settlements have been made and territories acquired in all parts of the world.

The Empire includes a number of self-governing dominions which enjoy responsible government. Each of them possesses a Parliament to which the Government of the dominion is responsible. As in Great Britain, the ministry must receive the support of a majority of the members in the elected chamber, and in the event of defeat the ministry must either resign or dissolve Parliament, and, if it fails to secure a majority in the succeeding Parliament, it must resign forthwith. Dominion Parliaments have full rights of legislation over their own peoples, and they frame their own tariff policy. Some of the dominions appoint their own representatives to foreign countries, and their essential independence is recognised by their separate membership of the League of Nations. The self-governing dominions of the British Empire are Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland and the Irish Free State. In each of them the crown is represented by a Governor-General, who is usually an English nobleman, and, not infrequently, a member of the royal family.

Responsible government is enjoyed in three other states of the British Empire—Northern Ireland, Malta and Southern Rhodesia. In each case, however, the authority of the Parliament is not quite complete, since certain matters are reserved and remain under the control of the British Government. These colonies, therefore, do not enjoy dominion status.

Most of the remaining parts of the British Empire, until a few years ago, came under the designation "Crown Colony." The use of this term has been discontinued, however, and these

states to-day are called "Colonies." The more important of them are colonies which possess representative institutions but not responsible government. In each of these a legislative Assembly, wholly or partly elected, makes laws and levies taxes for the colony. The Government is under the direction of a Governor, assisted by a number of officials, or ministers, but the latter are not directly responsible to the Assembly, which may criticise the action of officials, but is powerless to bring about their removal. In some cases this may be regarded as a stage on the way to full responsible government; in many others, owing to sparseness of population or to the disproportion existing between white and native peoples in the colony, it is improbable that responsible government will ever be attained. The colonies with representative institutions include the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Mauritius, Ceylon and Fiji.

Another group consists of colonies under the rule of a Governor assisted by a council or councils nominated but not elected. Where there are two councils, one is executive and the other legislative. Such colonies include Kenya Colony, Gibraltar, Trinidad and Tanganyika. A few small places are under the control of a Governor alone, unassisted even by a council. The best known of these is St. Helena.

The British Empire includes a number of territories known as protectorates. These usually contain a considerable native population, which is often, though not always, left under the government of a native ruler. British control in such cases is exercised by a Resident, who offers advice to the ruler. So long as the native prince is not too oppressive the advice of the British Resident is not pressed very closely. In bad cases of misgovernment it may be necessary for a military expedition to invade the protectorate, depose the ruler, and establish the Resident as Governor. In that way it occasionally happens that a protectorate becomes a colony ruled by a British Governor, and, if circumstances are favourable, there is no reason why it should not, in time, run through the whole scale of developments, ultimately reaching responsible government and dominion status. The foreign relations of a protectorate are carried on through the British Government. The protectorates within the British Empire include Kenya Protectorate, Nyasaland, Somaliland, Swaziland and Uganda.

Certain territories are known as spheres of influence. These

are regions which are not necessarily in actual British possession, and British control over them may be of the slenderest character. They are areas within which other powers have undertaken not to acquire territory or influence, by treaty or by annexation. Spheres of influence exist in the region of the Persian Gulf and in Arabia.

Mandatory spheres are under British rule but cannot properly be described as within the British Empire at all. Responsibility for good government within them, for the maintenance of order, and for the development of natural resources, has been assigned to this country for a period of years by the League of Nations. The League attempts to deal with the problem of the protection of backward and undeveloped races by granting mandates to its members to exercise supervision and control over them until such time as they become fit to direct their own affairs. Great Britain holds mandates over Palestine, Mesopotamia and the former German colonies in East Africa. The Commonwealth of Australia has been entrusted with the mandate for the administration of New Guinea, New Zealand holds the mandate for Samoa, and the Union of South Africa that for the former German South-West Africa. The mandatory power is expected to submit to the League an annual report on the progress of the territories placed in its charge.

The Indian Empire stands in a category of its own. It is in no sense a colony; Englishmen do not go to India in order to settle there and make new homes. They may accept posts in Indian political and commercial life and live there for many years, but they invariably return to Great Britain upon retirement. It is impossible to fit India into the classification of imperial dominions already set out. In so far, however, as it can be compared with any of them, it seems to be similar to a colony with representative institutions, and it is probable that the time will come when it will be granted responsible government.

The connection between the imperial dominions and Great Britain is of several kinds. At the head of the British Empire stands the king, to whom allegiance is due from the inhabitants of every single state, large or small. There is practically no republican sentiment in this country. The high personal character of the king, his great popularity, and his readiness to recognise the limitations of the authority of a constitutional

monarch, have destroyed all trace of republican aspiration, if any ever existed. If, however, a movement should ever be started for the ending of the monarchy in Great Britain, it would have to reckon on the break-up of the British Empire as an inevitable consequence. The loyalty which is felt by Canada and Australia towards the king would not be extended to a British president, but would be transferred to their own presidents. The king, therefore, is no mere figurehead. He is a real and necessary connecting link between different parts of the British Empire.

The British Parliament had, until recently, supreme authority over the whole of the British Empire. It could legislate for the Empire as a whole, although this power was rarely used. The act of 1833 for the abolition of slavery was applicable to the whole Empire. The British Parliament, by its acts, created the colonial Parliaments and, in theory, it could abolish them. It did, in fact, abolish the separate Parliaments of the four South African provinces when it sanctioned the Union of South Africa. Since the passing of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, the Parliaments of the self-governing dominions referred to above have enjoyed equality of status with the British Parliament. Other colonial Parliaments and Assemblies are not sovereign bodies, even in their own territories. They may not pass any law which is in conflict with a British Act of Parliament applicable to the colony, and if this should be done, intentionally or inadvertently, the colonial law is void to the extent of the inconsistency. It follows that if a colonial Parliament should pass a law to establish slavery such an enactment would be legally of no effect.

The British power, which existed until 1931, to legislate for the dominions, was exercised very rarely. If any attempt had been made to override the wishes of dominion Parliaments, the states concerned would have decided to separate from the British Empire. If (to take extreme examples) the Parliament at Westminster had, against the wishes of the Australian people, passed an act for the abolition of the Australian Parliament, the latter would not have disappeared, but would have considered the establishment of an independent Australian republic. Or, if the British Parliament had attempted to pass laws dealing with the internal affairs of any of the dominions, equally serious results might have been expected. Yet the British authority has been of value. It has been used in certain cases in which

common action is needed for the general good of the Empire as a whole, as in connection with the law of copyright. The right to veto has occasionally been exercised when it has been considered that a colonial law is detrimental to the rights or interests of other parts of the Empire.

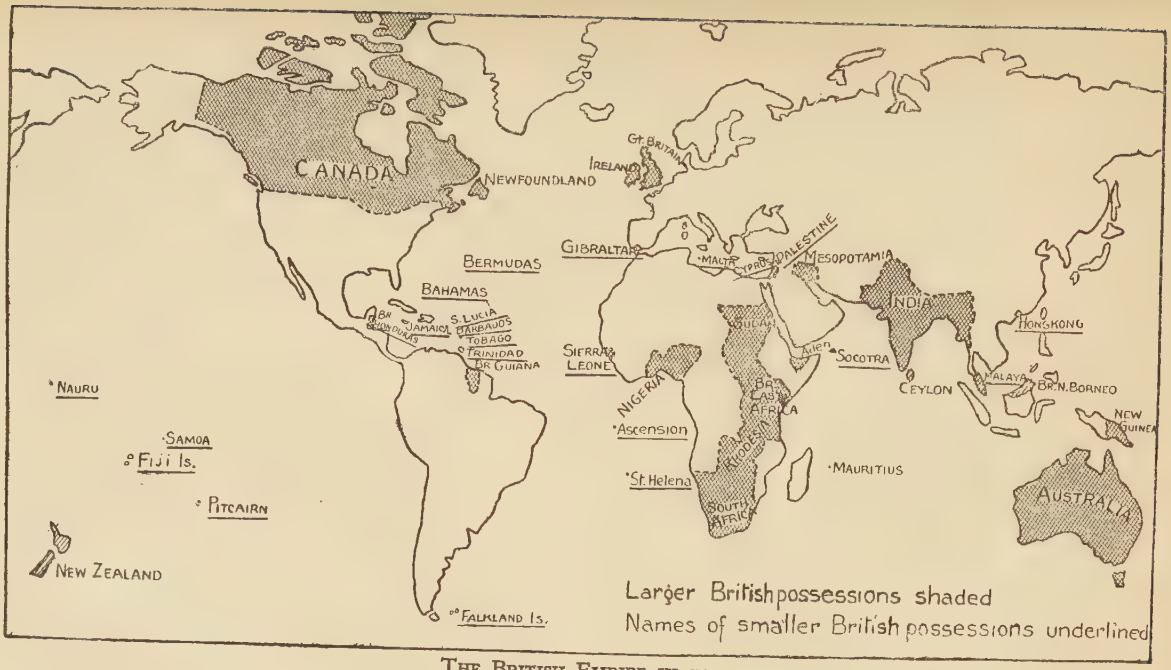
The Imperial Conference in 1926 declared that the self-governing dominions of the British Empire were henceforth to enjoy equality of status with each other and with Great Britain, and further resolutions on this subject were adopted by the Imperial Conference of 1930. To give legal effect to these resolutions the Statute of Westminster was passed by the British Parliament in 1931. This important law applied to those states of the British Empire which are self-governing dominions. The supremacy of the British Parliament over the Parliaments of these states ceased to exist. A British law could no longer be made to apply to any dominion without its request and assent, and no dominion law could be regarded as void merely because it was in conflict with British law hitherto applicable to the dominion.

The Statute of Westminster did not apply to parts of the British Empire other than the self-governing dominions, and it was enacted that certain parts of the statute should not apply to the Commonwealth of Australia, to the Dominion of New Zealand, or to Newfoundland, unless these parts were adopted by the Parliaments of these dominions.

In the preamble to the Statute of Westminster it was declared that any alteration in the law touching the succession to the throne ought to receive the assent of all the dominion Parliaments as well as that of the British Parliament. But this was not definitely enacted. It appears that it would be possible for a dominion Parliament to change the order of succession, so far as that dominion is concerned, or for a dominion Parliament to refuse to accept any alteration in the succession which might hereafter be proposed by the British Parliament.

Each dominion has its own courts to interpret and enforce the law, but from the highest court in each colony it is possible to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in London. This is a body which consists of judges of high standing and long experience; its members are appointed from the colonies and from India as well as from Great Britain.

The foreign policy of the British Empire is under the general direction of the British Government, and the dominions are



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1930

usually represented in foreign countries by the British ambassador. In certain cases, however, they prefer to be separately represented abroad, and appoint their own diplomatists to foreign capitals.

Great Britain is responsible for the defence of the British Empire, and has no legal right to call upon the dominions for assistance in war. Actually, each dominion undertakes its own defence by land, and in the European War of 1914–18 each of them provided substantial contingents to assist in the struggle against the enemy powers. The responsibility for naval defence rests with the British navy, and, although both Canada and Australia possess separate navies of appreciable strength, these were placed, during the European War, under the general direction of the British Admiralty.

A large volume of trade is carried on between Great Britain and the colonies, and among the colonies themselves. Great Britain receives from them food-stuffs, and raw materials for many of her industries, and sends them manufactured goods and coal. There is no uniform tariff policy in the British Empire. The general policy of Great Britain is Free Trade; most of the colonies are protectionist. But most of the dominions offer a preference to British goods; the duties which are levied upon colonial imports are lower for British than for foreign goods.

A careful consideration of what has been written will indicate that the bonds which hold the British Empire together are of a most indefinite character. Territories scattered all over the world, separated from each other and from Great Britain by thousands of miles of sea, are held by no armies of occupation. No tribute of any kind is paid by any part of the British Empire to any other. It is a matter of surprise to foreign observers that the Empire holds together at all, and it must be admitted that the real reason for the continuance of the connection does not lie in any of the circumstances mentioned so far. The component parts of the British Empire remain in connection because they wish to do so; they do not break away because there is no desire for separation. The bond, therefore, is sentimental, and it has proved to be stronger than more formal links might have been. Perhaps it would be unwise to attempt to establish a stronger and more rigid chain of connection, lest its existence should tempt one or other of the dominions to test its strength.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE EUROPEAN WAR AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

For many years before 1914 the statesmen of Europe had realised that a general war at some future date was not only possible but highly probable. The outstanding feature of European affairs in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the growth of German power. France was beaten in the war of 1870–1, and the German Empire, proclaimed in 1871, was based on a military force which grew steadily greater year by year. France, in alarm, allied with Russia before the end of the century, and Germany further increased her forces. She strengthened her alliance with Austria and extended her influence in the Balkans. France and Russia on the one side, Germany and Austria on the other, entered upon a disastrous competition in the increase of armaments.

The industry and commerce of Germany expanded during this period. She entered late, however, in the race for colonial empire, for Bismarck, the real founder of the German Empire, took little interest in colonial expansion, and when German statesmen, moved by the commercial interests of the empire, wished to obtain colonial possessions they found that most of Africa and other tropical lands had been partitioned among other European powers. It was, in all probability, the prospect of obtaining substantial colonial territories which would supply raw materials to, and provide markets for, the German manufacturer that reconciled German commercial interests to the war.

Colonial aggrandisement was possible only to a naval power, and from the beginning of the twentieth century the German Empire began the building of a navy which in a few years was in strength the second in the world. It remained only second, however, in spite of German efforts, since Great Britain built ships more rapidly than her rival, and retained her primacy. She cultivated friendly relations with France and Russia, but did not commit herself to a formal alliance.

This clash of interests, military, naval, commercial and colonial, was certain to lead to war, and it was possible that

any trifling incident might bring about the outbreak. Several such affairs occurred in the early years of the twentieth century, but on each occasion a settlement of the point at issue was reached without recourse to hostilities, and the outbreak of a world war was postponed.

In June 1914 an Austrian archduke, heir to the Austrian throne, was murdered at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. Austria chose to regard the murder as having been inspired by the Serbian Government, and delivered an ultimatum of such a character that Serbia could not possibly agree to it unconditionally. She accepted most of the Austrian demands, but on two points she asked for arbitration. Austria regarded this as a refusal of the ultimatum, and attacked Belgrade. Russia determined to support Serbia, Germany to assist Austria, and France to aid Russia.

For a few days the attitude of Great Britain was uncertain. France and Germany were both asked whether they intended to respect the neutrality of Belgium, which was guaranteed by the powers of Europe, including Prussia, in 1839. France agreed to do so; Germany replied that an answer to the question would disclose her plan of campaign. A day or two afterwards the German invasion of Belgium began. A British ultimatum was sent to Germany requiring her withdrawal from Belgium, and twenty-four hours later Great Britain declared war.

The war which began in August, 1914, and continued until nearly the end of 1918 was by far the greatest in the history of the world. Most of the states of Europe and some in the other continents were drawn into it, and the magnitude of the effort put forth by the principal combatants was without parallel. It is not proposed to attempt here any detailed description of military and naval operations, which are of outstanding interest only to the student of strategy and tactics, but to present only a general survey of the course of events.

The Germans invaded France by marching through Belgium in order to avoid the fortifications on the Franco-German frontier. They failed to reach Paris, and lines were established in eastern and north-eastern France from the Swiss border to the North Sea. These lines were held by German and Austrian troops against British, French and, later, Americans, until the final collapse of German power at the end of the war. Fighting was more or less continuous along the whole of the western front for over four years, sometimes developing into great

battles such as those of the Marne, Ypres and Verdun, more frequently consisting of monotonous and deadly bombardment.

In the east the Russian forces which invaded Germany and Austria were badly equipped and were no match for the well-trained German armies. Disasters were met with in the fighting against Germany, and in the Battle of Tannenberg the Russians sustained very heavy losses. Against Austria they achieved some successes, but they were unable to retain their gains and were ultimately driven back. The losses sustained by the Russians brought their discontent with the *ancien régime* in Russia to a head. Revolution occurred, the Tsar was deposed and put to death, and, after a period of internal turmoil, the Soviet republic was established. Russia withdrew from the war at the end of 1917, and the central powers were enabled to transfer troops from the east to the sorely pressed west.

The entry of Italy into the war in 1915 compelled the Austrians to use part of their forces in defending their territory from Italian attack. In 1916 substantial successes were gained by the Italians, but in the following year the enemy broke through the Italian line and recovered what had been lost, and only with the help of Great Britain and France was northern Italy preserved from conquest by the Austrians.

In the south-east of Europe Turkey and Bulgaria fought on the side of the central powers, while Serbia and Roumania ranged themselves with the allies. A British army was sent to the Balkans, and with its base at Salonika it endeavoured to attack the enemy from this quarter. A determined, but fruitless, effort was made, mainly by Australian and New Zealand troops, to force the Dardanelles and capture Constantinople. Had success been achieved in this direction it would have been possible to send supplies to Russia by way of the Black Sea, and the Russian collapse might have been averted. Greater success attended British operations against the Turks farther to the east and south-east. After stubbornly fought campaigns Mesopotamia was conquered, and, though the Turks threatened the Suez Canal, they were driven back. Allenby invaded and conquered Palestine and Syria, and for the first time since it was lost by the Crusaders Jerusalem passed into Christian hands.

The encirclement of the powers of central Europe was completed by the British navy, which was concentrated in the North Sea. A blockade of the German coast, which

became more and more effective as time went on, was maintained from beginning to end of the struggle. The German High Seas fleet was stationed at Kiel, and in the early weeks of the war occasional surprise raids were made on the British coast by German cruisers. These raids ceased, however, after the Battle of the Dogger Bank, in which a German battle-cruiser, the *Blücher*, was destroyed by a British squadron commanded by Sir David Beatty. The German high command at length endeavoured to end the blockade by meeting and destroying the British fleet. In the Battle of Jutland, on 31st May, 1916, both sides sustained severe losses. The tactics of the battle have been, and will for many years be, the subject of critical discussion, but that the fight was a British victory is evident from the fact that the German High Seas fleet returned to port and emerged only to surrender at the end of the war, while the British fleet remained in undisputed command of the seas.

Although the blockade of central Europe remained unbroken, the German Government organised a counter-blockade of the British Isles. It was carried on by means of submarines, and very great losses were sustained by the British mercantile marine. Energetic measures were taken to meet this new menace, and the British navy proved adequate for the task. Many ingenious devices were brought into use for combating submarines, and before the war ended the danger from this form of warfare was definitely reduced.

In the early part of the war the United States was neutral, and a good deal of irritation was caused by the revival of the old question of the right of search. American merchant vessels were escorted into British ports to be overhauled, in order that the continental blockade might be effectively maintained. In the United States there were mutterings which under other circumstances might have developed into war, but the Americans soon found a much more substantial grievance when the German Government sanctioned "unrestricted" submarine warfare, and permitted submarines to sink passenger vessels without warning. The United States entered the war in April, 1917. Friction over the right of search ceased, since the United States Government no longer permitted merchant vessels to leave its shores with cargoes intended for the enemy. A large American army was enlisted and trained, and did useful work in the last few months of the war, while the strength of the American fleet supplemented

the power of the navy of Great Britain. The appearance of Americans in Europe had a great moral effect on the central powers, for it was evident that the substantial prolongation of the war would result in the appearance of overwhelming American forces in the field.

The last desperate efforts to secure victory were made by the enemy in the spring of 1918. Freed from danger in the east, the central powers were enabled to make powerful attacks in the west and against Italy. But the allies stood firm, and in the summer and autumn the strain of war upon the enemy reached breaking-point. The long blockade had resulted in a shortage in central Europe of all the necessaries of life, and the long struggle without decisive victory had sapped the *moral* of the beleaguered peoples. The resistance of Turkey and Bulgaria collapsed, and Austria followed them in asking for terms of peace. Germany held out longest, but in November, 1918, the German Emperor fled into Holland, and the newly formed German republic asked for an armistice.

The war that was waged from 1914 to 1918 differed from previous wars in many respects. Artillery was used to a greater extent than on any previous occasion. More and heavier guns were used on both sides than in other wars, and the expenditure of ammunition was tremendous. It was said, and probably with truth, that the amount of ammunition consumed in a single day would have been sufficient to serve for a whole campaign in a nineteenth-century war. This rain of shells necessitated the development of trench warfare, since underground shelters were essential to protect the men from the effects of continuous bombardment. Poison-gas was used on both sides, but it proved to be uncertain in its effects, since a change in the direction of the wind occasionally caused it to drift back to those who had discharged it.

At sea mines and torpedoes were used with deadly effect in the blowing-up of ships, while as submarines came more and more into use many ingenious devices were invented to combat them. For the first time in history war was carried on in the air. Air raids were planned to terrorise and destroy defenceless cities, and duels between opposing aeroplanes were of daily occurrence on the western front.

The casualties sustained during the war were much more numerous than in any previous war of equal duration. It would be useless to attempt to form an accurate estimate of

the number of those killed and wounded on all fronts and in all armies. Perhaps ten or fifteen or twenty millions! In the fighting forces of the British Empire alone about a million men were slain or died from disease or from wounds, and millions of others sustained injuries, many of them being blinded or maimed.

The armistice was followed, early in 1919, by a meeting at Versailles of the statesmen of the victorious powers to consider terms of peace. Russia had been out of the war for some time, and was not represented at the conference. Great Britain and France, the powers which had made the greatest effort, were represented respectively by Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau, but the greatest influence at the conference was exerted by Mr. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. The Treaty of Versailles was the work of these three statesmen.

The treaty aimed at punishing the defeated nations, at compelling them to pay, as far as possible, for the damage caused by the war, and at bringing about a state of affairs which should render a repetition of the war impossible. The enemy powers had already surrendered their fleets at the armistice, and their armies were now to be substantially reduced, compulsory military service being abolished. It was stipulated that Germany should pay as large an indemnity as possible, though no amount that she could pay would cover more than a small fraction of the cost of the war. No definite sum was fixed, and the reparations problem has provided a topic for the discussions (and dissensions) of European statesmen ever since the peace was made. An army of occupation was to be stationed in certain parts of the Rhineland for fifteen years, and German territory was reduced. National boundaries were rearranged and some new states were carved out, and in some parts of Europe these arrangements were made dependent on the results of plebiscites of the peoples concerned. Poland was established as an independent republic, and Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania were marked out to the south-east of the Baltic. Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France and Schleswig to Denmark. Austria, which, like Germany, became a republic, lost a large amount of her territory, a strip of Adriatic coast, including Trieste, passing to Italy, while other provinces were annexed to Poland and to the new states of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Czechoslovakia was an enlarged Bohemia, and Yugoslavia included Serbia,

EUROPE IN 1914

EUROPE IN 1930

Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina and some other lands formerly Austrian. Germany was deprived of her colonies, which were placed in the charge of certain of the victorious powers under mandates from the League of Nations.

The war had been of such magnitude, its casualties had been so heavy, and the economic disturbance caused by it had been so profound, that it was felt to be essential to take steps to prevent its repetition. The world had survived the war, but little imagination was needed to conjecture that another war, more intense and more devastating than the last, would utterly destroy civilisation and, quite possibly, would bring human life to an end on the earth. It was the duty of the statesmen at Versailles to foresee this possibility and to avert such a catastrophe. The idea of a League of Nations for the preservation of peace was mooted by Woodrow Wilson, and, though it is probable that many of the members of the conference regarded it as fantastic and unworkable, they all agreed to it. The Covenant of the League of Nations was embodied in the Treaty of Versailles.

The independent states of the world were invited to accept membership of a League of Nations, which should have its headquarters at Geneva. The Assembly of the League was to contain representatives of all member-states; the Council of the League was to be a kind of committee of the Assembly and was to be composed of representatives of each of the great powers, together with a number of members elected by the smaller states. It was arranged that the Assembly should meet once, and the Council three times, every year, to deal with the business of the League. Over fifty states joined the League upon its foundation, and several others have been admitted since. The self-governing dominions of the British Empire were accepted as members of the League.

The great aim of the League was the prevention of war, and every member-state undertook not to go to war without first submitting the matter in dispute to the League for its consideration, and not to declare war until three months had elapsed after the League had pronounced upon the dispute. Should any member-state violate this undertaking other members were to be free to take action against the offender. The nation which contemplated warlike action against its neighbours would hesitate before committing itself to a conflict in which it might be opposed by most of the powers of the

civilised world. Members also promised to renounce secret diplomacy, by depositing with the League copies of all treaties into which they entered.

As a result of the efforts of the League a Court of International Justice has been established at The Hague, and disputes between nations can now be referred to it for settlement. An International Labour Bureau has been opened at Geneva, and efforts have been made to bring about improvement in industrial conditions in some parts of the world. The League has done valuable work in other directions, but, so far, it has failed to achieve one of its primary aims. It has not succeeded in persuading the great powers of the world to reduce their armaments.

During the first few years of its existence the League was not taken very seriously by European statesmen, who, accustomed to the methods of the older diplomacy, probably thought that it would fade into insignificance. It was weakened, too, by the non-inclusion in its list of members of three important states, the United States, Russia and Germany. The United States has refused to follow President Wilson's lead, and is not a member, but Germany was admitted to the League in 1926, and both the United States and Russia have been associated with some of its activities in recent years. The weight of public opinion in many countries has proved to be more powerful than the secret contempt of the politicians, and it is probable that the League will continue to exist. Even the most reactionary of diplomatists realises the advantage of being able to meet the representatives of other countries in order to converse with them without international crises developing. A quarter of a century ago a meeting of French and British foreign ministers was regarded with alarm in Germany. From such trifling incidents war-scares would arise. To-day it is possible for the statesmen of the nations to meet at Geneva and exchange views as a matter of course. The adhesion of the lesser states of the world has also contributed to the stability of the League. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the great powers arranged matters and the small states had perforce to agree. At Geneva small states have a voice in the settlement of important international questions, and their representatives are elected to seats on the Council of the League and, occasionally, to the presidency and other official positions in the Assembly.

CONCLUSION

THE FUTURE

HISTORY deals with the past, and not with the future. The function of the historian is to chronicle events, and not to prophesy. Nevertheless, one reason for the study of history lies in the belief that what has happened in the past may happen again, that the same causes will produce the same results, and that a knowledge of the events of the past will be of service in enabling men to deal with the problems which may arise in the future. By the study of history men may learn what to expect, what to seek, and what to avoid. "All our hopes of the future depend on a sound understanding of the past."

It cannot be denied that the world's affairs have often, in time past, been conducted in a very foolish way. "In order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America."

> "But what good came of it at last?"
> Quoth little Peterkin.
> "Why, that I cannot tell," said he,
> "But 'twas a famous victory."

War is not only the most terrible but the most foolish way of settling disputes. It does not prove which side is right but which is strong, and perhaps not even that, for chance may assist in deciding victory. Too often it has been represented as glorious, but those who have experienced it regard it as hideous. It is sometimes contended that war brings out noble qualities in men, who exhibit characteristics of endurance, bravery and self-sacrifice which might otherwise not be developed. Soldiers are honoured, and rightly so, but they are not honoured for their usefulness. They are enlisted to kill other men; they are honoured for their readiness to risk being killed. There are other spheres of danger in the world than the battle-field. There need be no fear that with the passing of war courage will disappear from the earth. While disease has to be treated, while fires have to be extinguished, while coal has to be mined, while stormy seas have to be

traversed, there will be no lack of brave men. The outstanding lesson from the study of history is that war must be classed with witch-burning and trial by ordeal—common in the past but inconceivable in the future.

In the Middle Ages there was little feeling of nationality among Europeans. The people of France were conscious that they were Normans or Angevins or Gascons rather than that they were Frenchmen. English people were barely conscious of their common nationality until towards the close of the Middle Ages, and it was probably due to the wars with France that men from the north felt themselves to be akin to those of the west or of the east. This feeling has been enormously strengthened in every part of Europe in modern times, and especially in the nineteenth century. It is possible, however, that the spirit of nationality will in the future be subordinated to an increasing regard for the brotherhood of mankind as a whole.

A thousand years ago a war between Midlanders and Yorkshiremen was not merely a possibility but an actual event. With the development of the feeling of nationality such local wars became things of the past. Local patriotism continues; Yorkshiremen and East Anglians and men of Devon are proud of their counties, but they do not carry their pride to the extent of making war upon the inhabitants of neighbouring districts. The feeling that all the people of this island are of one blood outweighs and exceeds local patriotism. The feeling of nationality itself is competitive. The more strongly a people feels that it is one nation, differing in many ways from the nation on the other side of its border, the more likely is it that rivalry and competition, perhaps developing into war, will follow. The growth of a wider feeling of the kinship of all men should make war between nation and nation impossible. Pride of race need not be extinguished; but, just as local patriotism has been subordinated to the spirit of nationality, this in its turn must yield to the recognition of the brotherhood of man. The time will come when it will be as unthinkable for France to fight Germany as for Kent to wage war upon Essex.

In the Middle Ages men were not free to act in accordance with their own wishes or interests. They were compelled to work together on manor or in gild, to fight side by side under the banner of their lord, to hold the same form of religion, to trade in concert. In every direction individual

effort was discouraged, and the group or gild or church or company to which they belonged was more important than the individuals who composed it. Competition, rather than co-operation, has been the characteristic feature of the last four or five centuries, the period which has been covered in the two volumes of this work. Men have striven against one another in the pursuit of wealth, many forms of religion have competed for the right to save men's souls, nation has competed against nation for supremacy in the world.

The competitive spirit has been of unquestionable value in stimulating progress. But it does not follow that progress can be continued indefinitely in this way. Competition is a phase of development, but there are signs that it is passing away, giving place again to co-operation. In industry and commerce, in religion and philanthropy it is becoming increasingly clear that more can be achieved by pulling together than by ceaseless strife. And if the competition of men should yield to co-operation there seems no reason why the strife of nations should not become a thing of the past.

The social condition of the people of this and other countries is better to-day than at any previous time. Improvement in the condition of the people has been effected chiefly in the last hundred years, and it is probable, though by no means certain, that progress will continue. The wealth of the world has increased enormously, but it is very unequally distributed among the people. Some men are exceedingly rich; others are very poor. It is not to be expected that any utopian "equality" of wealth will ever be established, but it is being realised that there is a minimum standard of comfort below which no human being ought to be expected to live, and as time passes and the world's wealth continues to increase it is possible to look for the gradual raising of that minimum.

It must not be assumed that progress is certain. The study of modern history reveals a record of advance in all directions, and it is usually assumed, without much thought, that improvement will continue. But this does not follow of necessity. There have been times in the world's history when no progress has been made, and occasionally the condition of mankind has deteriorated. But progress towards higher and better things will be made if men are determined that it shall be made. That they may know what to do and what to avoid is the chief reason for the study of history.

SUMMARIES OF THE CHAPTERS OF THIS BOOK

INTRODUCTION: THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

1714. ACCESSION OF GEORGE I:

Under the Act of Settlement. Preferred to the Stuart claimant because he was a Protestant.

RESULTS OF HIS ACCESSION:

Arising naturally from the accession:

(1) End of strict hereditary succession, and, therefore, of Divine Right.

(2) Acceptance of the supremacy of Parliament.
- (*a*) Regular meeting.
- (*b*) Ministers acceptable to Parliament.
- (*c*) Parliament entitled to discuss national policy.

(3) Whigs in office for nearly fifty years. They supported House of Hanover. Tories of doubtful loyalty.

(4) Close connection of Great Britain with continental politics. Not actually involved in war through the Hanoverian connection. The eighteenth-century wars of Great Britain were for naval, colonial and commercial supremacy.

(5) Church of England out of touch with Government. Parish clergy Tory; bishops Whig. Clergy lost influence. Bishops neglected duties. Decay of religion.

Following from his ignorance of the English language:

(1) King ceased to attend cabinet meetings and to be actively concerned in ruling the country.

(2) Development of the office of Prime Minister:
- (*a*) Presided at cabinet meetings.
- (*b*) Reported cabinet decisions to the king.
- (*c*) Ruled the country.
- (*d*) Selected other ministers.

(3) Definite establishment of party government.

1. THE WHIGS

WHIGS AND TORIES:

Whigs. Supported the Revolution.
Parliamentary supremacy.
Religious toleration.

Tories. Extremists were Jacobites.
Moderate Tories accepted House of Hanover, but would not have opposed Stuart restoration.

WHIG POLICY:

Laissez-faire. The reduction of Government activity to a minimum. The maximum of individual liberty.

Religion. Controlled and regulated in Tudor and Stuart times.

1689. Toleration Act. Religion left to individual choice. (*Laissez-faire.*)

1695. *Press.* Censorship in Stuart times. Abolished. (*Laissez-faire.*)

Trade. Regulated. General belief in the necessity for regulation. Reduced in extent under the Whigs. Beginning of the movement which culminated in Free Trade. (Tendency to *laissez-faire.*)

Colonial trade. Subject to regulation under the Navigation Acts.

(1) Enumerated products to Great Britain only.
(2) Non-enumerated products anywhere.
(3) All colonial exports in British or colonial ships.

Whigs ceased to enforce the system effectively. Smuggling. (Tendency to *laissez-faire*).

Finance. Sound.

(1) Aimed at reduction, and ultimate extinction, of National Debt.
(2) Reduction of rate of interest on debt.
(3) Reduction of taxation, especially land-tax.
(4) Increase of general prosperity, and ultimately of revenue, by reduction of burdens on trade.

1563. *Industry.* Subject to regulation under Statute of Artificers. Ceased to be enforced. (*Laissez-faire.*)

Foreign. Based on maintenance of Peace of Utrecht, in order to prevent further increase of Spanish power. Stanhope group prepared to fight for this policy. Walpole group preferred to withdraw from European affairs and maintain peace.

REASONS FOR CONTINUANCE OF WHIG RULE:

(1) Support of Crown—Whigs preferable to Tories because of attitude to reigning house.
(2) Support of nation—because of increase of material prosperity.
(3) Support of Parliament—as a result of the working of the System.

THE WHIG SYSTEM:

Under the control of the Duke of Newcastle. Designed to secure the continuance of Whig rule.

Parliamentary management. "Consideration" for the wishes of members of Parliament in return for their support.

Electioneering. The various means by which elections to the House of Commons were controlled.

RESULTS OF WHIG RULE:

(1) Maintenance of peace, as far as possible.
(2) Advance of material prosperity.
(3) Decline of Jacobitism.
(4) House of Hanover seated firmly on the throne.

2. JACOBITE ACTIVITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1715. THE 1715 REVOLT:

Plan. To carry out the rising which should have occurred at the death of Anne.
Simultaneous risings in the Highlands, the Lowlands and the north of England.

Favourable circumstances:

(1) French help expected. (But Louis XIV died, and the regent Orleans gave no help.)
(2) Unpopularity in Scotland of the union with England.
(3) Pretender personally preferable to George I (except in religion).

Events:

Lowlands and north of England. Kenmure revolted in Lowlands. Joined Forster in Northumberland. Returned to Scotland. Joined by two thousand men under Mackintosh at Kelso. Entered Lancashire. Surrendered at Preston.

Highlands. Earl of Mar gathered a force at Braemar. Took Perth. Waited while Argyll gathered forces. Battle of Sheriffmuir. Mar defeated. Pretender landed at Peterhead. Joined Mar at Perth. Retreated to Montrose. France.

Causes of failure:

(1) Rebellion badly planned.
(2) Mismanagement.
(3) Lack of French aid.
(4) Lack of general support in Great Britain.

1722. ATTERBURY'S PLOT:

1719. Marriage of Pretender. Two sons. Revival of Jacobite hopes. Plot by Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. Discovered. Atterbury deprived of bishopric and banished.

WHIG RULE:

Advance of prosperity. Peace. No opportunity for a Jacobite effort.

1745–6. THE 1745 REVOLT:

Led by Charles Edward, son of James, the Old Pretender. Ideal leader.

Events: Charles landed at Moidart. Seven companions. Roused clans. Perth. Edinburgh. Battle of Prestonpans. Charles defeated Sir John Cope. Delay at Edinburgh.

Marched into England by western route. No English rising
Two hundred men at Manchester. Reached Derby.
Hostile armies at Leeds, Shrewsbury and Finchley. Retreat.
Charles defeated Hawley at Falkirk. Failed to take Stirling.
Retreated north. Defeated by Cumberland at Culloden.
1746. Escape to continent.

Subjugation of the Highlands:

(1) Authority of chieftains abolished.
(2) Clansmen disarmed.
(3) Roads constructed.

LATER STUART HISTORY:

1766. James, Old Pretender (James III), died.
1788. Charles, Young Pretender (Charles III), died.
1807. Henry, Cardinal (Henry IX), died.

CAUSES OF STUART FAILURE TO RECOVER THE THRONE:

(1) Efforts ill-planned, badly directed and badly timed.
(2) Incapacity of leaders (not Charles Edward).
(3) Stuart reliance upon France. Unpatriotic.
(4) Prosperity of the country under Whig rule.
(5) Stuart religion.

3. THE BEGINNING OF WHIG RULE: TOWNSHEND AND STANHOPE

1714–20

MINISTERS:

Lord Stanhope. Secretary of State.
Lord Townshend. Secretary of State.
Sir Robert Walpole. First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer (in 1715).
Duke of Marlborough. Captain-General. No longer important.

THE LATE TORY MINISTERS:

Bolingbroke and Ormond. Flight. Acts of Attainder.
Harley, Earl of Oxford. Impeachment for treason. No evidence, especially in view of his quarrel with Bolingbroke before Queen Anne's death. Release. The last occasion on which fallen ministers were threatened with punishment.

1716. SEPTENNIAL ACT:

Cause:

The unsettlement of the country after the Jacobite revolt, and the possibility of the Tories obtaining a majority in the new Parliament.

Enactment:

The maximum duration of Parliament to be seven years instead of three years, as hitherto.

Advantage of the change:
Government more settled. Under the Triennial Act general elections were held too frequently.

Constitutional objection to the change:
Possibility of further extension. The act might have been treated as a precedent. Has not been so used.

Immediate effect:
Strengthened the Whig hold upon the House of Commons.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

1714. *The position:*
Isolation of Great Britain. British allies in the War of the Spanish Succession were dissatisfied with the peace. Holland dissatisfied with the arrangements for her security. Emperor angry at recognition of Philip V as King of Spain.
Whigs disliked the peace. Possibility of renewing the war. Unwise, in view of the loss of allies.

1715. *Death of Louis XIV:*
His great-grandson, Louis XV, succeeded him. Sickly boy. Not expected to live long. Orleans regent.
Next heir by blood was Philip V (excluded by the Treaty of Utrecht).
Next heir after Philip V was Orleans.

Aim of Orleans:
To uphold Treaty of Utrecht, in order to safeguard his own right of succession.

Aims of Philip V:
To overthrow Treaty of Utrecht in order to
(1) Secure the crown of France in succession to Louis XV.
(2) Recover the lost Spanish possessions in Europe.

Alberoni:
Cardinal. Chief minister of Spain. Advised a period of peace, during which Spain might recuperate. Overruled by Philip and his wife, Elizabeth of Parma.

Sweden:
Unfriendly with Hanover, which had seized Bremen and Verden, two Swedish provinces in North Germany. Sweden disposed to ally with Spain against Great Britain.

1717. *Triple Alliance:*
Great Britain, France, Holland } *v.* { Spain. Sweden.
Alliance formed by Stanhope. To uphold the Treaty of Utrecht.

1718. Emperor joined the alliance, making it Quadruple.

1718. *Fighting:*
Spain conquered Sardinia and overran Sicily.
British fleet defeated Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro. Spanish army in Sicily isolated.

Another British fleet in the Baltic. Prevented Swedish participation in the war.

1720. *Treaty of London:*

(1) Philip V joined the Quadruple Alliance, i.e., he undertook to observe the Treaty of Utrecht.

(2) Emperor and Duke of Savoy exchanged Sicily and Sardinia.

1717. FIRST WHIG SCHISM:

Walpole and Townshend disapproved of Stanhope's re-entry into European politics. Resigned, and went into opposition.

1719. PEERAGE BILL:

To reconstitute the House of Lords, so that it should contain 184 English peers, 25 Scottish peers, and the archbishops and bishops.

Proposal:

To permit the king to create six new peers (existing number was 178), and afterwards to create a new peerage only when an existing peerage became extinct.

Consequences of its acceptance:

(1) There would be a permanent Whig majority in the House of Lords.

(2) The House of Lords would be strengthened at the expense of the House of Commons. It would have been impossible, at any future time, to overcome the resistance of the Lords to the will of the Commons by the creation of new peers.

Opposition to the bill:

By the Tories and the Walpolean Whigs. Bill rejected.

1720. SOUTH SEA BUBBLE:

National Debt:

£51,000,000. Loans raised at various times at rates of interest varying between five and eight per cent. Government bound to pay interest, but not bound to repay capital. Heavy drain on national income.

South Sea Company:

Possessed the trading privileges conceded by the Treaty of Utrecht.

South Sea Company's proposals (accepted by the Government):

(1) To become sole creditor of the Government, receiving five per cent.

(2) Existing creditors of the Government to be offered shares in the South Sea Company in place of their Government stock.

(3) Company to give the Government £7,500,000, to be used in paying off those who refused the exchange.

(4) New commercial privileges to be given to the Company.

Advantages:

To the Government: Diminution in the amount of interest payable.

To the creditors: Sharing in the increased dividends which were payable.

To the Company: Increased prosperity, from the extension of its privileges.

The Bubble:

Rapid increase in the price of the shares. Frenzy of speculation. Fraudulent companies formed. Prosecutions by the South Sea Company. Rapid fall in prices, including the price of South Sea Company's shares. Ministers involved.

Results:

(1) Many people ruined. Others made fortunes. No serious effect on the prosperity of the nation, except that confidence was shaken, and took some time to recover.

(2) Fall of the ministry. Walpole assumed office. Government reassumed responsibility for National Debt. First Whig Schism ended.

4. WALPOLE

1676–1745

EARLY LIFE:

Son of a Norfolk landowner. Educated for the Church. Adopted a political career.

1700. Entered Parliament as a Whig.
1708. Secretary-at-War under Marlborough.
1710. Fell from power. Expelled from House of Commons. In the Tower. Released.

AFTER ACCESSION OF GEORGE I:

1714. Paymaster of Chelsea Hospital. Then Paymaster-General.
1715. First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
1717. Disapproved of the Triple Alliance. Resigned. Opposed the Peerage Bill.
1720. Re-entered the ministry after the Treaty of London. Became head of Government after fall of Stanhope.

1720–42. PRIME MINISTER:

Official posts. First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Really Prime Minister, though title not recognised.

Second Whig Schism. Some other ministers refused to submit to Walpole's authority, and resigned.

1724. Carteret.
1725. Pulteney.
1730. Townshend.
1733. Chesterfield.

Townshend retired from political life. Others went into opposition. Their retirement was due not to Walpole driving capable men from office, but to their unwillingness to recognise the need for a Prime Minister.

Walpole's supremacy in the Government was not fully established until 1730.

Foreign affairs (at first not wholly under Walpole's control):

Walpole wanted to avoid entanglement in European wars.

Emperor Charles VI wanted to ensure the succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa. Pragmatic Sanction.

Philip V wanted to recover Gibraltar and Minorca, and to secure Italian possessions for Don Carlos, and, later, for Don Philip.

1725. *First Treaty of Vienna* (Philip V and Charles VI):

(1) Emperor to assist Philip in the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca.

(2) Philip to guarantee Pragmatic Sanction.

(3) Don Carlos to succeed the Duke of Parma.

1726. *Treaty of Hanover* (revival of Triple Alliance):

Great Britain, France, Holland, Hanover, Prussia.

To oppose Vienna alliance.

1727. *Fighting.* Attacks on Gibraltar and Porto Bello. Failed.

1729. *Treaty of Seville:*

Peace. End of the Vienna alliance.

1731. *Parmesan Succession:*

Duke of Parma died. Emperor occupied Parma and refused to yield it to Don Carlos. European war probable. Walpole offered to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction if Emperor would give way.

1731. *Second Treaty of Vienna:*

(1) Emperor yielded Parma to Don Carlos.

(2) Great Britain guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.

1733–8. *Polish Succession:*

Augustus II, King of Poland, died. France and Spain supported Stanislaus. Emperor supported Augustus III. War, in which Great Britain did not take part.

1738. *Third Treaty of Vienna:*

(1) Augustus III recognised as King of Poland.

(2) Don Carlos to be King of Naples.

1739. *War between Great Britain and Spain:*

Walpole unwilling, but nation determined.

1742. Led to Walpole's fall.

Walpole's general policy:

Laissez-faire. No great reforms attempted. Such changes as were made were effected with a minimum of disturbance,

1727. e.g., Annual Indemnity Act instead of repeal of Corporation Act and Test Act.

Finance and Trade:

Aimed at development of trade, and removal of restrictions. Removed many duties, and reduced others. Increased prosperity. Higher revenue.

1724. Bonded warehouses for tea and coffee.

1733. Excise Bill. Proposal to extend system of bonded warehouses to tobacco and wine. Misunderstood. Great opposition. Proposal dropped.

National Debt amounted to £51,000,000. Sinking fund of £1,000,000 per annum. Raided several times in order to reduce taxation. Debt reduced by some millions during the period.

Land tax reduced from 4s. to 1s. in the pound.

Colonial trade:

Navigation Acts not rigidly enforced.

1733. Molasses Act. Forbade American colonies to import molasses from French West Indies. Passed to satisfy British West Indian planters. Not enforced.

1730. Rice non-enumerated.

1740. Sugar non-enumerated.

CAUSES OF WALPOLE'S CONTINUANCE IN OFFICE:

(1) The System, under the control of Newcastle.

(2) Support of the Court—George I, George II and Queen Caroline.

(3) Public opinion. Walpole was popular, on account of the prosperity of the country under his rule.

GROWTH OF THE OPPOSITION TO WALPOLE:

(1) Tories. (*a*) Jacobites. Few, and diminishing in number.
(*b*) New Tories, under Bolingbroke.

(2) Whigs. (*a*) Malcontents who refused to serve under Walpole.
(*b*) Younger men—the "Boys."

1736. (3) Scottish hostility after the Porteous riots.

(4) Decline of Walpole's influence at Court after the death of

1737. Queen Caroline.

1739. (5) Loss of popularity after the outbreak of war with Spain.

CHARACTER OF WALPOLE:

Country squire. Fond of hunting, dining, drinking.
Educated. Artistic taste.
Contempt for pamphleteers.
Good speaker. Not oratorical.
Common sense. No great ideals.
Used the corruption of his times to strengthen his position.
Personally honest.

WALPOLE'S WEALTH:

(1) Inheritance.
(2) Marriage.

(3) Official salary.
(4) Sale and purchase of pictures.
(5) Speculation at the time of the South Sea Bubble.

ADVANTAGES OF WALPOLE'S RULE:

(1) Commercial development.
(2) First movement towards Free Trade.
(3) Peace and prosperity.
(4) No opportunity for Jacobite rebellions.
(5) House of Hanover firmly established on the throne.

5. THE LAST YEARS OF WHIG RULE

1742–61

1742. FALL OF WALPOLE:

No great change in policy. Walpole retired from leadership of the party, but the same men retained office. Some of Walpole's Whig opponents resumed office.

1742–44. CARTERET:

Prime Minister after Walpole. System continued under Newcastle. Vigorous foreign policy. Active part in Austrian Succession War.

1744–54. PELHAM:

Henry Pelham became Prime Minister. Continued Walpole's policy.

1746. Pitt became Paymaster-General. All sections of the Whig party represented in the Government. End of second Whig Schism.

1749. National Debt consolidated into one loan, bearing interest at three per cent.

1751. Gregorian calendar adopted. Already in use in most countries of western Europe. Amendment of Julian calendar.

(1) Eleven days dropped from the year 1752.
(2) Three leap days to be dropped in four centuries.
(3) Year to begin on 1st January.

1754–56. NEWCASTLE:

Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, became Prime Minister on the death of his brother.
Henry Fox, Secretary of State.
Third Whig Schism began. Pitt dismissed from post of Paymaster-General.
Newcastle incompetent to govern. Disasters at beginning of Seven Years War. Newcastle resigned.

1756–57. DEVONSHIRE-PITT:

Duke of Devonshire Prime Minister.
Pitt Secretary of State.

Newcastle still controlled the System, and prevented Government from obtaining a majority in the House of Commons.

1757–61. NEWCASTLE-PITT:

Newcastle Prime Minister. Controlled System and kept Government in power.
Pitt Secretary of State. Directed the war.
End of third Whig Schism.

1761. Fall of the Whigs after the accession of George III.

6. THE WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN

1739–48

CAUSES:

(1) Alleged abuse of trading rights by Great Britain, and Spanish claim of right to search British vessels in Spanish Main.
The rights of trading:
(*a*) Slave trade monopoly for thirty years.
(*b*) One ship of six hundred tons annually to Porto Bello for general trade.
The rights regarded as the "thin end of the wedge." Smuggling and piracy.
Revival of Spanish power under Philip V.
Right of search claimed as applying over all ships found on ocean routes which led to Spanish colonial ports.
(2) Alleged brutality of Spanish officers in conducting the search of British vessels. Jenkins's ear.
(3) Spanish unwillingness to extend the period of the slave trade monopoly.
(4) British claims in Honduras.
(5) Disputed boundary between Florida and Georgia.

EVENTS:

1739. Vernon, with six ships, captured Porto Bello.
1741. Vernon and Wentworth, with a large force, failed to take Cartagena.
1739. Haddock captured two Spanish ships in the Mediterranean.
1740–4. Anson sailed round the world. Captured treasure ship in the Pacific.
War merged into the Austrian Succession War.

1748. TREATY OF AACHEN
Peace.

1750. TREATY OF MADRID:

(1) Great Britain surrendered trading rights obtained at Utrecht.
(2) Spain paid £100,000 compensation to South Sea Company.
No mention of right of search.

7. THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN STRUGGLE IN EUROPE

1740–63

THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION PROBLEM:

Austrian Dominions:

A. Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, Tyrol, Hungary and some other provinces.
B. Milan.
C. Austrian Netherlands.

Charles VI:

Last male of the Austrian branch of the House of Hapsburg. Daughter Maria Theresa.

Aims of Charles VI:

(1) To secure the succession of Maria Theresa to his dominions.
(2) To induce Electors to choose Maria Theresa's husband, Francis Stephen, as Emperor.

The Imperial Crown:

In the Hapsburg family since 1440. If Francis Stephen became Emperor it would remain in the Hapsburg family, on the female side.

Pragmatic Sanction:

Drawn up by Charles VI. Maria Theresa to succeed to his dominions. Disregarded the claims of Maria Amelia and Maria Josephine, daughters of the Emperor Joseph I.

Guaranteed by most of the European powers.

1725. Spain. First Treaty of Vienna.
1731. Great Britain. Holland. } Second Treaty of Vienna.
1733. Saxony. Poland. } At outbreak of the Polish Succession War.
1738. France. Third Treaty of Vienna.
1726. Prussia.

Rise of Prussia:

Hohenzollern family held the electorate of Brandenburg since 1415. Additions at various times, including kingdom of Prussia, outside Empire.

1700. Title of King of Prussia.
1713. European recognition of title.
1713–40. Frederick William, King of Prussia. Well-organised dominion. Large army. Well-filled treasury.
1740–86. Frederick the Great. Great general. Well-equipped for struggle with Austria.

1740–8. AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION WAR:

Causes:

1740. (1) Disregard of the Pragmatic Sanction, and attacks upon Maria Theresa, after death of Charles VI.
(2) Electors chose Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, to be Emperor.

Alliances:

Prussia (wanted Silesia)
France (wanted Austrian Netherlands)
Spain (wanted Milan)
Saxony (wanted Moravia)
Bavaria (wanted Bohemia)
} *v.* { Austria (Great Britain and Holland joined later).

Events:

1740. A. Frederick invaded Silesia. Battle of Mollwitz. Conquest of Silesia.
1742. Peace of Breslau. Frederick retained Silesia.
1742. B. Austrians overran Bavaria. Captured Munich.
1743. Great Britain entered the war. Battle of Dettingen. British defeated French.
1743. British fleet at Naples. Threatened bombardment. Don Carlos remained neutral.
1744. C. Frederick renewed war. Invaded Bohemia. Driven out.
1745. Battle of Fontenoy. French defeated British.
1745. British withdrew from war on account of Jacobite rebellion.
1745. Charles VII died. Francis Stephen elected Emperor.
1748. *Treaty of Aachen:*
(1) Prussia retained Silesia.
(2) Sardinia received part of Milan.
(3) Don Philip to receive Parma.
(4) Pragmatic Sanction confirmed in other respects.
(5) British and French overseas conquests restored.

1748–56. THE PERIOD OF PEACE:
Maria Theresa determined to recover Silesia.

Preparations for next war:
(1) Austrian finance reorganised.
(2) Austrian trade developed.
(3) Austrian army enlarged, especially artillery.
(4) Austrian officers trained.
(5) New alliance sought—with France.

1756. *Diplomatic Revolution:*
Alliance of Austria and France. Arranged through the efforts of Kaunitz and Madame de Pompadour.
Great Britain allied with Prussia.

1756–63. SEVEN YEARS WAR:

Alliances:

Austria
France
Russia
Spain (after 1761)
} *v.* { Prussia. Great Britain. Hanover.

Early disasters:

1756. Battle of Hastenbeck. French defeated Duke of Cumberland, and overran Hanover.
1756. Minorca lost by Byng's inaction.

Pitt:

(1) British naval power used with effect against France. Close blockade.
(2) Subsidies to Frederick. French kept occupied on Rhine.
(3) Struggle carried on against French in India and North America.
(4) Selection of competent commanders.

Frederick in Europe:

Hard fighting for some years on three fronts. Interior lines of communication. Russia withdrew from the war after the Empress Elizabeth died. Frederick held his own.

1762. *End of Anglo-Prussian Alliance:*

After fall of Pitt. Bute refused to continue the subsidy.

1763. *Treaty of Hubertsburg:*

Between Austria and Prussia. Prussian dominions intact. Frederick retained Silesia.

1763. *Treaty of Paris:*

Between Great Britain, France and Spain. Referred to colonial affairs.

8. THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE AT SEA

1756–63.

1756. MINORCA:

Attacked by French. Byng failed to relieve it. French captured it. Byng retired to Gibraltar.

Court-martial of Byng. In his defence he stated that he thought defeat was certain, and that the loss of Gibraltar would follow. By retiring to Gibraltar he might save that place. Shot.

Sentence unjust. Byng should have fought. Error of judgment, for which he should have been superseded, but not shot.

1759. PROJECTED FRENCH INVASION:

The position:

Transports at Havre.
French fleet at Toulon. Covered by Boscawen at Gibraltar.
French fleet at Brest. Watched by Hawke at Plymouth.

The plan:

Toulon fleet to join Brest fleet, overcome British, and convoy transports across the Channel.

Events:

1759. Boscawen defeated Toulon fleet at Battle of Lagos.
1759. Hawke defeated Brest fleet at Battle of Quiberon Bay.
1760. Rodney destroyed transports at Havre.

Destruction of French naval power. French commerce destroyed. No communication with Canada.

1760. WEST INDIES:
French sugar islands captured.

1761. BELLE ISLE:
Captured by British.

SPAIN:

1761. *Family Compact (secret):*
(1) Spain to join in the war by 1st May, 1762, unless peace made previously.
(2) France to give Minorca to Spain.

1761. Fall of Pitt. War declared by Great Britain.

1762. *Events:*
Havana captured.
Manila captured.

9. THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE IN INDIA

1745–63.

16th cent. EUROPEAN TRADE WITH INDIA:
Shared by Venetians (Egyptian route—closed to other nations) and Portuguese (Cape route—no other nation possessed the necessary navigation knowledge).

1580. Portugal conquered by Spain. Portuguese possessions became Spanish. English and Dutch attacked Spanish power in the East as well as in the West.

1600. ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY:
Rivalry with Dutch. Dutch established on islands. English on mainland.

Factories:

1612. Surat.
1639. Madras.
1668. Bombay.
1696. Calcutta.

Factories well-organised. Under president and council. Merchants, writers, apprentices.

1664. FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY:
Factories at Pondicherri, Mahé and Chandernagar.
Friendly with English until about 1740. European wars not carried on east of the Cape.

MOGUL EMPIRE:

1707. The last powerful emperor, Aurangzeb, died.
Break-up of the empire. Viceroys became independent princes. Intrigue, warfare, murder, disorder.

1741–54. DUPLEIX:

Governor of Pondicherri. Proposed to intervene in Indian politics in order to extend French influence

(*a*) In case of a dispute for possession of a native throne, to establish one of the candidates and so extend French influence.
(*b*) To use sepoy troops.

CARNATIC:

1745. British fleet threatened Pondicherri. Withdrew.
1746. French fleet under La Bourdonnais captured Madras. Negotiations for ransom. Broke down.
1748. Madras restored to British by Treaty of Aachen.
1749. French protégé established as Nizam of Hyderabad. Garrison under De Bussy.
1749–53. Struggle in the Carnatic between Chunda Sahib, supported by French, and Mohammed Ali, supported by British.
1751. Mohammed Ali besieged in Trichinopoli.
1751. Clive, with small force of British and sepoys, captured Arcot, capital of the Carnatic.
Chunda Sahib and French raised siege of Trichinopoli. Besieged Arcot. Failed to take it.
1753. Chunda Sahib died. Mohammed Ali became Nabob of the Carnatic.
French prestige declined. English prestige increased. Dupleix returned to France. Clive to England.

BENGAL:

Nabob, Siraj-ud-Daula. Under French influence.
1756. Captured Calcutta. Black Hole. Clive in Bengal. Nabob paid compensation.
1757. Plot to dethrone nabob and establish Mir Jaffir. Clive supported plot.
1757. Battle of Plassey. Clive defeated Siraj-ud-Daula, who suffered death soon after.
Chandernagar captured. British influence in Bengal.

CARNATIC:

1758. Lally Governor of Pondicherri. Attacked Madras. Failed.
1759. Lally withdrew De Bussy from Hyderabad. Nizam allied with British.
1760. Battle of Wandewash. Coote defeated Lally. Captured Pondicherri.

POSITION IN INDIA BY 1760:

(1) French influence destroyed.
(2) British influence well established in the Carnatic, Hyderabad and Bengal.
(3) British prestige stood high.

10. THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE IN NORTH AMERICA

1742–60

ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS:

Line of colonies along coast from Massachusetts to Georgia.

North: Puritan settlers.
Middle: Conquered from Dutch.
South: Slave states. Tobacco.
Georgia: Recently founded as a settlement for debtors.
Nova Scotia: North-east of the other colonies. Acquired by Treaty of Utrecht.

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS:

Line of forts on the waterways—St. Lawrence, Great Lakes, Alleghany, Ohio, Mississippi. From Louisburg to New Orleans. Included Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Fort Niagara, Fort Frontenac.

No definite boundary between British and French settlements.

FRENCH AIM:

To maintain line intact, to prevent British expansion towards interior, and to cut through British territory and reach the sea. To encroach on British colonies and conquer them.

BRITISH AIM:

To break through French line.

FRENCH ADVANTAGES:

(1) Position.
(2) Indian friendship (except the Iroquois).

BRITISH ADVANTAGES:

(1) Numbers.
(2) Effective support from home Government.
(3) Command of the sea. Reinforcements and supplies to British. Cut off from French.

EVENTS:

1742. British captured Louisburg.
1748. Louisburg restored to French by Treaty of Aachen.
1752. French founded Fort Duquesne. Threat to Virginia.
1754. Virginian attack on Fort Duquesne defeated. Washington captured.
1755. British attack on Fort Duquesne defeated. Braddock slain.
1756. French captured Fort Oswego.
1757. French captured Fort William Henry.
1758. (After Pitt sent troops and supplies) British captured Louisburg, Fort Oswego, Fort William Henry, Fort Frontenac and Fort Duquesne.

1759. (After French were cut off from France, in consequence of the Battle of Quiberon Bay) Three-fold attack planned upon Quebec. Amherst from the St. Lawrence.
Prideaux from New England.
Wolfe from the sea.

Wolfe attacked and captured Quebec. Wolfe and Montcalm slain.

1760. Amherst captured Montreal.

11. THE PEACE OF PARIS

1763

GENERAL DESCRIPTION:

Similar to the Peace of Utrecht, in that it was a Tory peace following a war conducted by a Whig ministry.

TERMS:

Between Great Britain and France:

(1) In India, Pondicherri, Mahé and Chandernagar were returned to the French, to be used only for trading and not to be fortified.

(2) In North America, all French possessions east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, were yielded to Great Britain. France retained St. Pierre and Miquelon and rights of fishing in the St. Lawrence.

(3) In West Africa, Great Britain retained Senegal and returned Goree to France.

(4) In the West Indies, Great Britain retained Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent and Grenada, and returned Guadeloupe, Martinique and St. Lucia to France.

(5) In Europe, Minorca restored to Great Britain in exchange for Belle Isle. Fortifications of Dunkirk to be destroyed.

Between Great Britain and Spain:

(1) Great Britain received Florida in exchange for Havana.

(2) Manila restored to Spain.

Between France and Spain:

All French territory in North America west of the Mississippi, together with New Orleans, to be ceded to Spain, as compensation for her loss of Minorca.

CRITICISM:

(1) Abandonment of alliance with Frederick the Great. (But Frederick was by this time within sight of victory, and the subsidy had not been guaranteed, but was granted year by year.)

(2) The return of Pondicherri, Mahé and Chandernagar to France. French East Indian trade might have been ruined.

(3) French might have lost their share in the slave trade.

(4) The return of the sugar islands to France. Great Britain might have monopolised sugar trade.
(5) Dissensions arose out of the rights of fishing in the St. Lawrence.
(6) Retention of Canada removed from the American colonies the danger of French conquest, and made the War of American Independence possible. The return of Canada to the French and the retention of the sugar islands by Great Britain might have been better.
(7) Florida was not an equivalent for Havana.
(8) No equivalent was exacted for Manila.

RESULTS OF THE STRUGGLE:

(1) Great Britain became the chief colonising power in the world.
(2) British navy supreme; French navy non-existent.
(3) Great Britain the foremost European power in India and North America. Commerce developed.
(4) Seeds of future trouble. American revolt.

12. THE METHODIST MOVEMENT

CONDITION OF ENGLAND IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:

(1) Decline of belief in Christianity.
(2) Corruption in the Church. Bishops were courtiers and politicians, and were absentees from their dioceses. Pluralist rectors. Badly paid curates. Low intellectual and moral standard of the clergy.
(3) Low moral condition of the people. Drunkenness prevalent. Highwaymen and footpads. Criminals rarely apprehended. Cruelty common.
(4) Religion and learning not dead. Survived in a minority.

THE WESLEYS:

John and Charles Wesley. Students at Oxford. Methodist society for religious exercises. The Wesleys ordained in the Church of England.
John Wesley visited Georgia. Moravian influence. His return to England. Conversion. Spent the remainder of his life in evangelistic work in the British Isles.

FEATURES OF THE MOVEMENT:

(1) Field-preaching, i.e. preaching in the open air.
(2) Hymn-writing by Charles Wesley.
(3) Preaching by John Wesley and George Whitfield
(4) Formation of Methodist societies.
(5) Not in competition with the Church. Not a new dissenting sect.
(6) Employment of laymen as preachers.

(7) Hostility of the mob. Violence.
(8) Annual conference.
(9) Spread of the movement to America.

RESULTS OF THE MOVEMENT:

(1) New religious bodies, separate from the Church of England. Divisions among Methodists. Present-day tendency among Methodists towards reunion.
(2) Revival of spiritual activity within the Church.
(3) Mission work to heathens.
(4) Philanthropy at home.
(5) Improvement in the moral condition of the people.
(6) Contributed to the antagonism with which the people of Great Britain viewed the French Revolution.

13. GEORGE III AND THE TORIES

THE NEW TORY PARTY:

The Tories after 1714 were no longer active partisans of the House of Stuart, but were only lukewarm supporters of the House of Hanover. Could not be admitted to office.

Bolingbroke realised the hopelessness of the Stuart cause. Exile.
1722. Sued for and obtained pardon. Returned to England.

Bolingbroke built up New Tory party, purged of Jacobitism. Loyal to House of Hanover and Revolution. Aimed at overthrow of Whig oligarchy. Little chance at first, but

Older men died off.

Younger men naturally regarded Stuart cause as hopeless and became New Tories.

Frederick, Prince of Wales, the hope of the New Tories. Bolingbroke's book, *On the Idea of a Patriot King*. When Frederick became king Walpole would be dismissed and Bolingbroke would become Prime Minister.

1751. Frederick died.

GEORGE III:

Limited capacity. Hard work. High moral character. An Englishman and not a German. Narrow-minded and obstinate. Accepted the idea of the "Patriot King." Growing dislike of the Whigs.

THE ROYAL POWER:

The king thought it to be insufficient. Compared it with
(1) That of earlier English sovereigns (before 1714), who exercised much influence and authority.
(2) That of contemporary European sovereigns.

CAUSES OF THE LOSS OF ROYAL POWER:

(1) Indifference of George I and George II to British affairs.
(2) Encroachment by the Whigs upon the royal power.

THE REMEDY:

The Government must receive the support of Parliament, which must meet every year and could not be dispensed with. The king proposed to control Parliament by establishing a third party, the King's Friends, which should be strong enough to hold the balance between Whigs and Tories, and to recruit this party by methods hitherto employed by the Whigs. He proposed to use the methods of the System to overthrow the System.

EARLY MINISTERIAL CHANGES:

1761. *Pitt.* Resigned, as the king would not agree to war with Spain.
1761–3. *Bute.* Peace of Paris.
1763–5. *Grenville.* Whig, but not of the old group. Stamp Act.
1765–6. *Rockingham.* Whig of the old group. Repealed Stamp Act. Dismissed.
1766–8. *Chatham.* Whig and Tory. Renewal of American trouble. Chatham resigned through ill-health.
1768-70. *Grafton.* Whig and Tory. Resigned.

1770–82. MINISTRY OF LORD NORTH:

Tories and King's Friends. North deferred to the king, who controlled national policy. American War. North resigned.

SHORT MINISTRIES:

1782. *Rockingham.* Old Whig. Died.
1782–3. *Shelburne.* Section of Whigs. American independence.
1783. *Fox and North.* Whigs and Tories against King's Friends. Dismissed by king.

1783–1801. MINISTRY OF WILLIAM PITT:

Tories and King's Friends. Pitt was not, like North, subservient to the king.

KING'S ULTIMATE FAILURE:

Due to
(1) Loss of the American colonies.
(2) Pitt's character.
(3) King's insanity.

14. AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

THE COLONIES:

Northern group. Puritan and intolerant. Temperate climate. Free labour. Lumbering, agriculture, shipbuilding.

Middle group. Former Dutch settlements. Cosmopolitan.
Southern group. Sub-tropical climate. Slave labour (negroes and convicts). Tobacco.

THEIR POLITICAL CONDITION:

Advanced. Each colony had an elected Assembly to make laws and levy taxes. No federation.

BRITISH CONTROL:

(1) *Governors:*
Appointed by Great Britain. Friction sometimes developed between Governor and Assembly.
(2) *Defence:*
Great Britain responsible. Actually undertaken by colonies, except in serious crises.
(3) *Trade:*
Navigation Acts:
(*a*) Enumerated products only to Great Britain; non-enumerated products elsewhere.
(*b*) All exports in British or colonial ships. Although colonial trade was thus restricted, colonial traders had a constant market and a stable price for their produce.

BRITISH POLICY DURING THE WHIG PERIOD:

Lax enforcement of the Navigation Acts. Their revival improbable.

CAUSES OF THE QUARREL:

(1) Re-enforcement of the trading restrictions under George III. Strongly resented, though no good ground of formal complaint existed.
(2) Taxation imposed by Grenville and Townshend. The pretext rather than the cause.

ARGUMENTS:

For Great Britain:
(1) In view of the heavy burden of the National Debt in Great Britain, partly through the conquest of Canada and the removal of the French danger from the colonies, part of the cost of colonial defence ought to be borne in future by the colonies.
(2) No common authority existed over the colonies in North America. No common basis of assessment could be found. Taxation must be imposed by the British Parliament.

For the colonies:
(1) The British control of colonial trade was an equivalent to the obligation for colonial defence.
(2) The colonies were in a position of equality with Great Britain under the Crown, and the British Parliament had no authority over the colonies, which were not repre-

sented in it. "No taxation without representation." (Inconsistent with the colonial acceptance of the Navigation Acts.)

N.B. (*a*) Whigs in Great Britain, led by Chatham and Burke, were opposed to the taxation of the Americans.
(*b*) Some Americans, especially in the south, supported the British view.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE WAR:

1764–6. *First period:*

1764. Grenville ordered enforcement of the Navigation Acts.
Grenville proposed to raise £100,000 per annum by colonial taxation, the money to be devoted towards the cost of an army for colonial defence. Suggested a Stamp Act, but willing to consider alternatives.

1765. Stamp Act.
American opposition:
(*a*) Meetings. Resolutions of protest.
(*b*) Riots.
(*c*) Non-importation agreements. Effective.

1766. Stamp Act repealed by Rockingham.
Declaratory Act passed.

1767–73. *Second Period:*
Townshend imposed duties on several articles. £40,000 per annum expected. For salaries of colonial officials. This was indirect taxation, but was objected to by the Americans as being imposed for revenue, and not for trade regulation.
Renewed opposition. Not quite so effective as before.

1770. North removed all duties except that on tea, which was retained for the maintenance of the principle.
Riot at Boston.

1772. The *Gaspee* captured and burnt.

1773. East India Company permitted to take tea direct to America, the English duty being evaded.
Boston "tea party."

1774–6. *Third period:*

1774. Boston port closed.
Assembly of Massachusetts suspended. Met as a Convention.
Congress met at Philadelphia. Unity of colonies essential if struggle was to be successful.

1775. Fighting. Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill.
Americans failed to secure Canadian co-operation.
Olive Branch Petition. Disregarded.

1776. Trade restrictions thrown off (April).
Declaration of Independence (July).

THE WAR:

1776–7. *The northern colonies:*
British headquarters, military and naval, at New York. Some progress. Philadelphia captured.

1777. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga. Northern colonies lost. New York held till end of war.

1778-81. *The southern colonies:*

Cornwallis marched through and recovered Georgia and South Carolina. Continued march through North Carolina and Virginia. Reached Yorktown.

1781. Cornwallis surrendered. Southern colonies lost.

1778-83. *Foreign intervention:*

1778. France declared war.
1779. Spain declared war.
1780. Holland declared war.
1780. Armed Neutrality. To resist British claim to right of search.
1778–9. In India, Pondicherri, Mahé and Chandernagar captured by British
1779–82. Gibraltar besieged by French and Spanish without success.
French captured some British West Indian islands.
British captured St. Pierre and Miquelon.
1782. French and Spanish captured Minorca.
French fleet, under De Grasse, supreme in North Atlantic, until
1782. Battle of the Saints. Rodney defeated De Grasse.

1783. TREATY OF VERSAILLES:

(1) American independence.
(2) Pondicherri, Mahé and Chandernagar restored to the French unconditionally.
(3) Senegal, St. Pierre and Miquelon, St. Lucia and Tobago, restored to France.
(4) Florida and Minorca ceded to Spain.
(5) Great Britain refused to give up Gibraltar.

REASONS FOR BRITISH DEFEAT:

(1) Distance of America from Great Britain.
(2) British troops unfamiliar, and colonial troops familiar, with the land.
(3) Unsuitability of training of British officers.
(4) Employment of Hessian troops.
(5) Other European powers at war with Great Britain at this time.
(6) Loss of the command of the sea.

RESULTS OF THE LOSS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES:

(1) End of the Old Colonial System. No further attempt to tax colonies. Trade control of little importance henceforth.
(2) American loyalists migrated to Canada. Formed Upper Canada.
(3) Irish Parliament became independent.
(4) Example to French, becoming a contributory cause of the French Revolution.
(5) Colonisation of Australia.

15. THE RULE OF CLIVE AND HASTINGS IN INDIA

1760-5. PERIOD OF CLIVE'S ABSENCE:

Mir Cossim became Nabob of Bengal in place of Mir Jaffir. Misrule.

1762–5. *War.* Mir Cossim, Nabob of Oudh, Great Mogul } *v.* British.

1764. *Battle of Buxar.* Major Munro defeated the nabobs. Mogul taken prisoner.

1765. *Treaty of Allahabad:*

(1) Company to collect revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Half to Company. Half to be divided between Nabob of Bengal and the Mogul.
(2) Nabob to administer justice in Bengal.

1765–7. CLIVE, GOVERNOR OF BENGAL:

State of affairs:

(1) Dishonesty of tax-collectors, native and British.
(2) Company's servants received presents from natives.
(3) Private trading by Company's servants, who grew rich.
(4) Company nearly bankrupt.

Clive's reforms:

(1) Officials forbidden to receive presents from natives
(2) Private trading forbidden.
(3) Increase in official salaries.

Charges against Clive:

After his return to Great Britain. Charge of corruption. Investigated by a committee of the House of Commons. No trial. Clive vindicated. Suicide.

1767–73. PERIOD BETWEEN CLIVE AND HASTINGS:

Corruption continued.

1770. Famine. Loss of revenue.

1774. LORD NORTH'S REGULATING ACT:

Passed because of the feeling that British government in India ought to be exercised in the name of the Crown.

(1) The Governor of Bengal was to be Governor-General of Bengal, and was to exercise authority over the Governors of Bombay and Madras.
(2) The Governor-General was to be advised by a Council of four members, and was to be bound by its decisions.
(3) Supreme Court of Justice established at Calcutta.

1772–85. WARREN HASTINGS:

Governor of Bengal. Became Governor-General under the Regulating Act. Sir Elijah Impey became Chief Justice.

Hastings' Difficulties:
(1) The Council.
(2) Enforcement of reforms.
(3) Financial.
(4) Native wars.
(5) French intrigue.

The Council:
Francis, Monson, Clavering } *v.* { Hastings. Barwell.
Hastings under the control of the opposition party on the council.

1776. Monson died. Hastings carried his views on the council by the exercise of his casting vote.

1777. Clavering died.
Wheler and Coote appointed to the council. Gave general support to the Governor-General.

Reforms:
(1) Enforced Clive's rules against private trading and the acceptance of presents.
(2) British tax-collectors.
(3) Reduction of the allowance paid to the Nabob of Bengal.

Nuncomar:
Brought unfounded charges against Hastings. Nuncomar himself charged with forgery, and hanged.

Native Rulers:
Benares. Cheyte Singh of doubtful loyalty. Liable to pay £50,000 per annum to Company for the defence of Oudh.

1778. Money paid.
1779. Payment after delay.
1780. Payment refused. Cheyte Singh deposed.

Oudh. Nabob owed money to the Company. Could not pay, as the treasure of the state was in the hands of the Begums. Hastings seized treasure.

Marathas. Confederacy in central and western India.
Sindhia, Holkar, Bhonsla } *v.* Peshwar of Poona.

1779–82. First Maratha War. Bombay council supported Peshwar.
Goddard crossed India from Bengal to Bombay.
Goddard captured Gujerat.
Popham captured Gwalior.
Peace made.

1781–2. *Mysore.* First War. Hyder Ali (under French influence) invaded Carnatic. Threatened Madras. Battle of Porto Novo. Coote defeated Hyder Ali and saved Madras. Tipu succeeded Hyder Ali.

1785. *Retirement of Hastings:*
After the passing of Pitt's India Act.

1788–95. IMPEACHMENT OF HASTINGS:
Inspired by Francis. Carried on by the Whigs. Managed by Burke and Sheridan.
Chief charges:
(1) The deposition of Cheyte Singh.
(2) The seizure of the treasure of the Begums.
(3) The extermination of the Rohillas.
Acquittal. Right verdict.
Hastings ruined by expense of the trial. Pension from Company.
1818. Died.
Trial valuable as an indication that the rulers of India might be called to account.

16. THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

STATE OF AGRICULTURE BEFORE 1750:

(1) Open-field system of arable cultivation. Intermingled strips. Three fields. One field fallow each year. Cultivation by custom.
(2) Cultivators were freeholders, leaseholders, or copyholders.
(3) Some enclosed farms. Usually held by leaseholders.
(4) Customary rights over common pasture and woodland.
(5) Peasantry carried on textile work in cottages.

DEFECTS OF THE SYSTEM:

(1) Wasteful of land and of time.
(2) No possibility of improvement, except on enclosed farms.
(3) Disputes.

CAUSES OF CHANGE:

(1) Increase in population. Greater demand for food. Could not be met under the old system.
(2) Demand for food affected prices. Stimulated change of methods.
(3) Decay of cottage textile industry in consequence of the coming of factories necessitated improvement in agricultural methods, since peasants who lost their by-employment had to gain a living from agriculture alone.

CONSOLIDATION AND ENCLOSURES:

(1) Usually by special Act of Parliament for each place. Act granted on petition of the lord of the manor and four-fifths of the landowners. Mainly in the time of George III.
(2) Carried out by a commissioner. All legal claims met. Peasants had no legal claim to pasture and woodland rights. These reverted to the lord of the manor.
(3) Peasants with small consolidated plots were unable to make

a living from them. Usually sold them. Ready market for land.

(4) Large estates formed. Divided into farms of two to three hundred acres. Tenant farmers.

THE YEOMEN (the old open-field cultivators):

(1) Some went into towns. Became factory-owners.
(2) Some went into towns. Became factory-workers.
(3) Some remained in the country. Became tenant farmers.
(4) Some remained in the country. Became farm labourers.

RESULTS OF CONSOLIDATION AND ENCLOSURES:

(1) Possibility of experiment, and, therefore, of improvement.
(2) Disappearance of fallows. Norfolk course.
(3) Winter food for cattle.
(4) Stable manure for the land.

STOCK-BREEDING:

Till the eighteenth century farm-stock was of poor quality. Cattle for draught. Sheep with light fleece. Prevalence of infectious diseases. Much stock killed on the approach of winter.

Improvement due to

(1) Judicious breeding.
(2) Better supply of food, especially in winter.

MEN PROMINENT IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AGRICULTURE:

Bakewell. } Stockbreeding.
The Collings. }
Tull. Sowing by drill.
George III. Model farm at Windsor.
Young. Travelled in Great Britain and France. Disseminated information.
Coke. Estate management. Marling. Improvements of all kinds.

RESULTS OF THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION:

(1) Increase in the supply of food. But population increased faster, and import became necessary.
(2) End of medieval agriculture. Modern rural system of squire, tenant farmer and labourer.
(3) English agriculture remained the foremost in Europe.

17. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

DEFINITION:

A change in industrial methods and organisation. A change from the domestic system to the factory system, and from handwork to machine work.

INDUSTRY BEFORE 1750:

Mainly in cottages, especially textile work. Carried on by people engaged in agriculture.
Carding by children.
Spinning by women.
Weaving by men.
The textile industry was controlled by dealers, or clothiers, who gave out the raw material and collected the cloth. Sold it to merchants. Some of it exported.
Unsatisfactory system. Dealers could not get the work done to time, and suffered from the dishonesty of workpeople.

CAUSES OF THE CHANGE:

(1) Need for an increase in production to meet the demands of the export trade.
(2) Need for machinery, especially in spinning.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY:

Spinning Inventions:

1764. Jenny. Hargreaves. Several spindles at once. Fine but not strong yarn. Worked by hand in cottages. No change of system.

1769. Water-frame. Arkwright. Rollers. Coarse and strong yarn, suitable for warp. Water power. Factories necessary. Change of system. Factory at Cromford. Strutt used Arkwright's yarn in the manufacture of stockings.

1776. Mule. Crompton. Combined advantages of water-frame with those of jenny. Yarn fine and strong. The weaving of muslins became possible. Jenny continued in use. Hand-yarn for woof. Factory-yarn for warp.

Weaving inventions:

The spinning inventions necessitated the speeding-up of weaving.

1733. Flying-shuttle. Kay. Weaving of broadcloth by one man possible. Not in general use until after the spinning inventions.

1785. Power-loom. Cartwright. Clumsy, and almost useless.

1815. Power-loom improved. In more general use.

Finishing processes:

Improvements in dyeing and bleaching.

Materials:

New machinery applied to cotton. Unlimited supply from the West Indies and the United States.
Wool limited in quantity until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Then from Australia and New Zealand.

Early machinery:

Of wood and iron. Hand-made. Clumsy. Improvement after the invention of machine tools.

POWER:

Water:

Plentiful, but irregular and unreliable. Used until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Steam:

1712. Newcomen invented engine for pumping. Extravagant in fuel consumption.

1782. Watt's engine. Economical and efficient. Limited use for many years, as patents were held by Boulton and Watt, whose output was limited.

IRON:

Demand for iron:

(1) For machinery.
(2) For engines.
(3) (Later) For rails, etc.

Charcoal smelting:

In various parts of the country. Destruction of the forests. Decay of the industry in the early eighteenth century.

Coke smelting:

Discovered by Darby. Revival of iron industry. Iron-works on the coalfields, especially in South Wales, North England and the Clyde valley.

COAL:

Demand for coal:

(1) For smelting.
(2) For driving engines.
(3) For the production of dyes.
(4) For fuel (household).

Difficulties:

(1) Flooding. Pumping necessary. Steam engines used.
(2) Explosions. Safety lamp invented by Davy.
(3) Lifting coal to the surface. Carried up by women and children until 1842. Haulage by wire ropes after 1842.

RESULTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION:

(1) (*a*) Increase of population.
(*b*) Movement of people into towns. New industrial towns in the north.
(*c*) Massing of the people in the north and west.
(2) (*a*) Increase in production.
(*b*) Increase in export trade.
(*c*) Temporary unemployment when machinery was introduced.
(*d*) Cheapening of goods.
(*e*) Development of new industries, e.g., engineering.
(3) Unsatisfactory conditions of factory labour. Due to prevalence of *laissez-faire* views. Ultimately led to
(*a*) Trade Unionism.
(*b*) Factory legislation.

(4) Improvement in means of transport. Large-scale production necessitated wider market.

(5) Need for parliamentary reform. Before the Industrial Revolution Parliament represented the landed interest. Industrial and commercial interests not represented. Now demanded representation. Industrial towns permitted to send members to Parliament during the nineteenth century.

18. ROADS AND CANALS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ROADS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:

Bad condition. Mud. Ruts. Little wheeled traffic.
Travellers went on horseback.
Goods were carried by pack-horses or pack-mules.

IMPROVEMENT:

(1) Turnpike trusts established to maintain stretches of road. Charged tolls. Resulted in the construction of good main roads. No improvement in by-roads and lanes.
(2) Establishment of coaching services.
(3) Famous road engineers:
Rennie and Telford. In Scotland.
Metcalf. In the north of England.
Macadam. Invented the macadamised surface.

CANALS:

1759. Bridgewater canal built by Brindley. Worsley to Manchester. Engineering difficulties overcome. Network of canals constructed, connecting the navigable rivers.

USES OF CANALS:

(1) To convey food from the south and east into the factory areas.
(2) To convey raw material into the factory areas, e.g., china clay from Cornwall to the Potteries.
(3) To convey manufactured goods out of the factory areas.
(4) For the carriage of coal.

DEFECTS OF THE CANAL SYSTEM:

(1) Canal companies did not become common carriers. They provided the waterway and charged tolls. Barges and horses provided by the users of the canals.
(2) Lack of uniformity of gauge, in height under bridges, in depth and width, and in the size of locks.

19. PITT AS A PEACE MINISTER

1783–1801. PITT AS PRIME MINISTER:

First Ministry.
1804–6. Second Ministry.
Before 1793—peace.
After 1793—war.

1783. ACCESSION TO POWER:

Twenty-four years old. Other members of the cabinet were in the House of Lords. Pitt alone in the Commons. No majority. Defeated again and again. Refused either to resign or to dissolve Parliament. Wanted to postpone the general election until public opinion had veered round to his side.

General election. Whigs lost many seats. Large majority of Tories and King's Friends to support Pitt.

COMPARISON OF PITT WITH OTHER MINISTERS:

With Lord North:

Both supported by the king, but North was subservient to the king, while Pitt was independent.

With Chatham:

Both desired parliamentary reform and despised corruption. Chatham greater than Pitt as a war minister.

With Walpole:

Both preferred peace to war, but Pitt prosecuted war vigorously and Walpole sluggishly. Pitt readier than Walpole to propose reforms. Pitt continued Walpole's work in the direction of Free Trade.

FINANCE AND TRADE:

The position:

National debt £250,000,000. Credit low. Government stock at 57. Taxation heavy. Smuggling common. Budget failed to balance.

Pitt's views:

Disbelief in mercantilism and the regulation of trade. Disciple of Adam Smith. Had read *The Wealth of Nations*. Regarded volume of trade as advantageous.

Pitt's measures:

(1) Reductions in indirect taxation.
(2) Extension of the system of bonded warehouses.
(3) "Assessed" taxes on luxuries.
(4) Sinking fund for the extinction of the National Debt.
1785. (5) Commercial treaty with Ireland. Failure.
1786. (6) Commercial treaty with France. Success. Great increase of trade.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM:

1785. Pitt proposed to disfranchise thirty-six pocket boroughs, and to assign the seats to large towns. Patrons to be compensated. Proposal defeated. No further attempt.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE:

1784. *India Act.* Settled government of India till 1858.
1788. *Australia.* First settlement.
1791. *Canada Act.* Settled government of Canada till 1840.

FOREIGN POLICY:

1786. Death of Frederick the Great.
End of British isolation.

1788. Triple Alliance of Great Britain, Holland and Prussia. Of little importance, in view of the French Revolution and subsequent wars.

REGENCY QUESTION:

Pitt opposed in Parliament by the Whigs under Fox, Burke and Sheridan, who were friendly with the Prince of Wales.

1788. King's first attack of insanity. Regency question arose. Prince of Wales the only possible regent. He would dismiss Pitt and appoint Fox to office.
Pitt contended that appointment must come from Parliament.
Fox asserted the right of the prince to assume the regency.
King recovered.

IRELAND:

Pitt proposed to solve Irish question by union of Great Britain and Ireland, to be followed immediately by Catholic Emancipation. Union carried. George would not agree to Catholic Emancipation. Pitt resigned.

1804–6. SECOND MINISTRY:

To carry on the war. Formed the Third Coalition. Victory
1806. at Trafalgar. Austrian defeat at Austerlitz. Pitt died.

GREATNESS OF PITT:

High character and ideals.

20. IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1689–91. THE REVOLUTION:

Roman Catholic attempt to subjugate Protestants. Failed. Protestant ascendancy re-established.

IRISH GRIEVANCES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:

Religious:

The Penal Code against Roman Catholics.

Social:

(1) Roman Catholics could not purchase land, nor hold it on long lease.
(2) Succession to estates of Roman Catholics by equal division among sons, instead of by primogeniture. Tended to the break-up of large estates.
(3) Preference to Protestant son.
(4) Intermarriage forbidden.
(5) No Roman Catholic children might be educated abroad.
(6) Irish tutors and schoolmasters to be Protestant.
(7) No Roman Catholic to be a barrister, or an officer in the army.

(8) No Roman Catholic to wear a sword.
(9) No Roman Catholic to possess a horse worth more than five pounds.

Political:

(1) Roman Catholics had no vote.
(2) Roman Catholics were not eligible for membership of the Irish Parliament.

Economic:

Ireland was not included in Great Britain for the purpose of the Navigation Act. Irish commerce regulated in the interests of Great Britain.
(1) Irish dairy produce not to be sent to Great Britain.
(2) Irish wool not to be sent to Europe or North America.
(3) Irish linen unrestricted until 1707; then restricted in the interests of Scotland.

Agrarian:

Irish land owned by English absentee landlords. Irish peasants rented small farms. Rack-rented. Extreme poverty. No alternative occupation.

Government:

(1) (*a*) Irish Parliament subordinate to that of Great Britain. No law without previous British consent. British Parliament could legislate for Ireland.
(*b*) Irish Parliament met only in alternate years.
(*c*) Irish Parliament corrupt. Many rotten boroughs.
(*d*) No limit to its existence, until the Octennial Act of George III's reign.
(2) Lord Lieutenant visited Ireland only in alternate years, when Irish Parliament was sitting.
(3) English officials at Dublin Castle. Corrupt.

IMPROVEMENT:

Opportunity afforded by Anglo-American struggle. Threat of French invasion.

1778. Irish volunteers to repel French invasion.
1779. Many restrictions removed from Irish trade.
Worst features of Penal Code repealed.
1782. Irish Parliament secured legislative independence.

1782–1800. IRISH INDEPENDENCE:

The position:

(1) Irish Parliament equal in status to British Parliament. In similar position to that of Scotland before 1707.
(2) British control continued, because
(*a*) Dublin Castle system remained.
(*b*) Irish Parliament was corrupt.
(3) Protestant ascendancy remained. Roman Catholics allowed to vote after 1793.
(4) Agrarian grievances remained.

The United Irishmen:

Aimed at obtaining parliamentary reform and Catholic Emancipation, and, ultimately, independence. Hoped to include Irishmen of all classes and religions. Example of the French. Movement became a phase in the struggle between Catholics and Protestants.

1791. Founded by Wolfe Tone.
1796. Attempted French invasion of Ireland failed.
1798. Revolt. Crushed.

1800. THE UNION:

Its object:

To solve the Irish problem by uniting the British and Irish Parliaments and granting Catholic Emancipation. This would combine safety for Protestants with justice to Catholics.

Its method:

Bribery and threats in the Irish Parliament.

Its terms:

(1) One king and Parliament, one army, one flag.
(2) In House of Lords, twenty-eight Irish peers elected for life, and one archbishop and three bishops of the Irish Church in annual rotation.
(3) In House of Commons, one hundred Irish members.
(4) Free Trade between the two countries.
(5) Ireland to contribute two-seventeenths, and Great Britain fifteen-seventeenths, of the revenue of the United Kingdom.
(6) Fusion of National Debts when they stood in these proportions.
(7) Irish peers without seats in the House of Lords to be eligible for seats in the House of Commons if chosen for constituencies in Great Britain.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION:

Not carried. George III would not agree.

RESULTS OF THE UNION:

(1) Roman Catholic disabilities remained.
(2) Dublin Castle system of government remained.
(3) Free Trade proved to be to the disadvantage of the Irish.
(4) Irish belief that the British had acted in bad faith.

21. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1789–95

CAUSES:

(1) Privileges of nobles and clergy.
(*a*) Exemption from most of taxation.
from compulsory military service.
from forced labour on the roads.
(*b*) Rights of hunting and fishing.

(*c*) The levy of tolls on roads and market-places.
(*d*) Jurisdiction over peasants.
(*e*) The provision of mill, winepress and oven for peasants.
Heavy burden of peasants, who paid nearly all national taxation.

(2) French national finance.
(*a*) Heavy National Debt, due to extravagance of Court; eighteenth-century wars.
(*b*) Taxes collected by farmers.

(3) No national Parliament. States-General had not met since 1614.

(4) Influence of French philosophers.
(*a*) Montesquieu. Admired English institutions.
(*b*) The Encyclopædia. Criticised French institutions.
(*c*) Voltaire. Appealed to reason.
(*d*) Rousseau. Appealed to nature.

(5) Example of America and of Ireland.

IMMEDIATE CAUSE:

Bankruptcy by 1787. No more loans could be raised. Nobles refused to surrender privileges. King decided to call States-General.

COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION:

1789-91. *States-General (National Assembly):*
Met at Versailles. No programme of reform presented by the Government.
Activity of the Paris mob.

1789 (July). Capture of the Bastille.
(Oct.). March of the women to Versailles. Court and Assembly returned to Paris.
Measures of the National Assembly (much of the work was under mob influence):
(*a*) Abolition of noble privileges.
(*b*) New system of local government.
(*c*) Confiscation of Church property.
(*d*) Issue of paper money.
(*e*) New constitution. Strictly limited monarchy. Regular meetings of the Assembly.

1791. King and royal family attempted flight. Overtaken. Returned to Paris. King accepted constitution.

1791–2. *Legislative Assembly:*
Elected to succeed the National Assembly.

1792. War with Austria and Prussia. Invasion of France. Panic at Paris. King suspended.

1792–5. *Convention:*

1792. Deposition of Louis XVI. France declared to be a republic.

1792. Edict of Fraternity. Invitation to the oppressed peoples in other countries to rise against their rulers.

1793–4. Reign of Terror. Execution of the king and queen, and of many nobles and other people suspected of disloyalty. Many nobles fled into the Empire or to England. The Committee of Public Safety and the Revolutionary Tribunal established. Marat, Danton and Robespierre successively controlled the Terror.

Abolition of Christian worship. Worship of Reason.

1795. Terror ended. Order restored.

1795–9. *Directory:*

Inefficient. Real power in the hands of generals.

1799–1804. *Consulate:*

Bonaparte became First Consul. Monarchy restored in fact, though not in name.

1804–14. *Empire:*

Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor of the French.

ENGLISH OPINIONS ABOUT THE FRENCH REVOLUTION:

Sympathetic:

At first. French people regarded as struggling for liberty. It was hoped that they would evolve a constitution similar to that of Great Britain. Pitt held this view for a time.

Enthusiastic:

Fox and the extreme Whigs were delighted at what had happened.

Antagonistic:

Burke and the moderate Whigs. *Reflections on the French Revolution,* and *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

(1) Liberty is a matter of slow growth. Not to be secured by violence.

(2) The seizure of property by the French was to be condemned.

(3) Prophesied the decay of trade, industry, learning and the arts. (Wrong.)

(4) Prophesied the restoration of order by a military despotism. (Right.)

Opposed to Burke:

Tom Paine. *The Rights of Man.*

James Mackintosh. *Vindiciæ Gallicæ.*

REPRESSIVE MEASURES IN GREAT BRITAIN:

To counteract revolutionary tendencies and prevent the spread of revolutionary principles to this country.

(1) Suppression of many clubs and societies.

(2) Seditious writings punishable.

(3) Treasonable to utter words against the king's authority, or to communicate with France.

(4) Restrictions on aliens.

1794. (5) Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

(6) Public meetings forbidden without licence.

1799. (7) Trade Unions illegal.

EFFECT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION ON GREAT BRITAIN:

Fear that reforms might lead to revolution and to war. Postponement of parliamentary reform and social reform for many years.

22. THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR

1793–1802

1792. WAR ON THE CONTINENT:

Austria, Prussia } *v.* France.

Aims:

(1) To assist French royal family.
(2) To prevent spread of revolution.

Events:

Invasion of France. Opening successes. Invaders defeated at Valmy. Driven out. French invaded Austrian Netherlands.

CAUSES OF BRITISH ENTRY INTO THE WAR:

(1) British obligation under the Treaty of Utrecht, to defend Holland.
(2) Opening of the Scheldt. Antwerp a menace to Great Britain.
(3) Edict of Fraternity.
(4) Execution of Louis XVI moved British opinion.

1793. FIRST COALITION:

Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain, Great Britain } *v.* France.

Events on the Continent:

1793–4. French conquered Austrian Netherlands.
1795. French conquered Holland. Batavian Republic formed. In alliance with France.
1795. Prussia made peace.
1796. Spain made peace. Allied with France.
1796. Bonaparte drove Austrians from Italy. Austria made peace
1797. by Treaty of Campo Formio.

British efforts:

Emigré nobles encouraged to make raids on the French coast.
1794. Battle of the First of June. French defeated, but a convoy of corn ships reached port.
French West Indian islands captured.
1795. Cape of Good Hope captured.

1797. THE CRITICAL YEAR:

Great Britain *v.* { France. Spain. Dutch.

Enemy aim:

To effect a junction of fleets, in order that the British fleet might be overpowered and an invasion of England be effected.

British aim:

To prevent junction.

Events of 1797:

Battle of St. Vincent. Jervis and Nelson defeated Spanish fleet.
Mutiny at Spithead. Easily suppressed.
Mutiny at the Nore. Crushed.
Battle of Camperdown. Duncan defeated Dutch.

1798–9. EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN:

Bonaparte sailed from Toulon. Captured Malta from the Knights of St. John.
Bonaparte reached Egypt. On the way to India. Its conquest would deal a great blow to British trade.
1798. Nelson destroyed French fleet at the Battle of the Nile.
Bonaparte marched into Syria to re-establish his communications with France. Defeated at Acre. Returned to Egypt.
1799. Returned alone to France. Overthrew the Directory. Became First Consul.
1800. British captured Malta.

1798–1800. SECOND COALITION:

Russia, Austria, Turkey, Great Britain } *v.* France.

Some victories over France during Bonaparte's absence.
1800. Bonaparte defeated Austrians at Marengo. Austrians made peace
1801. by Treaty of Lunéville.
Great Britain again alone.

1801. ARMED NEUTRALITY:

Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia } *v.* Great Britain.

To resist the search of neutral ships by the British.
Denmark possessed fleet. Parker and Nelson demanded surrender of Danish fleet. Battle of Copenhagen. Danish ships captured or destroyed.
Tsar Alexander I reached agreement with Great Britain. Armed Neutrality ended.

1802. TREATY OF AMIENS:

(1) Great Britain restored French West Indian islands.
(2) Great Britain restored Cape of Good Hope to Dutch.
(3) Great Britain retained Ceylon and Trinidad, captured during the war.
(4) Great Britain to restore Malta to Knights of St. John.
(5) French to withdraw from Papal States.
(6) British and French to withdraw from Egypt.

N.B. (*a*) Treaty settled nothing. A mere truce.
(*b*) Peace made because of war-weariness.
(*c*) Neither side victorious. French victories had been gained on land. British victories at sea.
(*d*) Treaty less satisfactory to Great Britain than to France.

REASONS FOR FRENCH SUCCESS:

(In spite of bankruptcy, lack of discipline and lack of supplies.)
(1) Enthusiasm of a people fighting for liberty.
(2) Eighteenth-century despotisms played out.

N.B. Great Britain escaped defeat only through her geographical position.

PITT'S WAR POLICY:

(1) Naval. Great Britain kept free from invasion.
French colonies captured.
No close blockade of French coast.
Activity of French privateers.
(2) Financial. Subsidies to allies. Money not well spent.
(3) Military. Expeditions to continent. Badly planned, led, equipped. Fruitless.

PITT'S FINANCIAL POLICY DURING THE WAR:

(1) Continuance of Sinking Fund. Unsound policy, but
(*a*) Not worth while to interrupt it for a short war.
(*b*) Evidence of Great Britain's determination to pay her debts.
(2) No heavy taxation in early years. Magnitude of struggle not realised.
1797. (3) Assessed taxes increased.
1798. (4) Income tax established.
(5) Loans. Interest at three per cent. Loans raised at heavy discount. Bad policy, because
(*a*) Dead weight of debt unduly increased.
(*b*) Reduction of interest by means of conversion loans after the restoration of peace would be very difficult.

PITT'S GREATNESS AS A WAR MINISTER:

Not brilliant, but adequate, in the conduct of the struggle. No faltering. Unswerving determination to secure victory.

23. THE NAPOLEONIC WAR

1803–15

CAUSES:

(1) Treaty of Amiens was a mere truce. Ill-feeling remained.
(2) Refusal of Great Britain to evacuate Malta.
(3) Presence of French troops in Dutch territory.
(4) Bonaparte's refusal to revive Anglo-French commercial treaty.
(5) Insulting references to Bonaparte in the British press.

THE WAR:

1803. Great Britain *v.* France.
1804. Great Britain *v.* Spain.

CHARACTER OF THE WAR:

In the French Revolutionary War Great Britain was on the side of despotic monarchies against a nation fighting for liberty.
In the Napoleonic War Great Britain was on the side of nations fighting for freedom and independence against the despotism of Napoleon.

1804. PITT:

Resumed office in place of Addington. Fox and the Whigs would have joined the ministry, but George III objected. Addington in Pitt's cabinet.

FRENCH PLAN OF INVASION:

Napoleon:
Army at Boulogne.

Defence measures:
Volunteer force raised.
Martello towers built.

French naval plan:

1805. Toulon fleet under Villeneuve to join Spanish fleet at Cadiz. To go to West Indies. Nelson to pursue, to defend West Indian colonies. Villeneuve to return to European waters, leaving Nelson in the West Indies. Villeneuve to join Brest fleet. To overpower British Channel fleet. To convoy troops to England.

Events:
Nelson did not wait in the West Indies. Warned Admiralty. Returned to the Channel. Villeneuve checked by Calder at Battle of Cape Finisterre. Put into Ferrol. Brest fleet unable to escape blockade. French naval plan foiled.

1805. Battle of Trafalgar. French and Spanish fleets destroyed. Nelson killed.

1805. THIRD COALITION:

Great Britain, Austria, Russia } *v.* France.

1806. Prussia at war with France. Not a member of the coalition.
1805. Battle of Austerlitz. Austrians defeated. Peace made by Treaty of Pressburg.
1806. Battle of Jena. Prussians defeated.
1807. Battle of Friedland. Russians defeated.
1807. Treaty of Tilsit. Peace between France, Prussia and Russia. Napoleon at the height of his power. Great Britain alone against France, as in 1797, 1801 and 1804.

ECONOMIC WARFARE:

Continental System:

1806–7. Established by Napoleon as a means of overcoming Great Britain. Aimed at destroying British trade, and making it impossible for her to maintain her navy.
(1) Blockade of British Isles.
(2) European ports closed to British trade.
(3) France and her allies forbidden to trade with Great Britain.
(4) Neutrals not to touch at a British port before reaching continent.
(5) British merchandise to be destroyed.

1806–7. *Orders in Council:*

The British reply to the Continental System.
(1) Blockade of France and her allies.
(2) Neutrals forbidden to enter continental ports, and those on the way there were to be diverted to British ports.

Effects:

(1) Damage to British trade by the closing of European markets.
(2) Damage to British merchant shipping by privateers.
1807. (3) British seizure of Danish fleet.
(4) Hardship on the continent through the blockade.
(5) Smuggling into Europe.
(6) Growing unpopularity of Napoleon on the continent.
(7) Napoleon issued licences permitting the import of certain classes of British goods.
(8) Irritation of neutrals, especially against Great Britain.
1812–14. War with the United States.

1808–14. PENINSULAR WAR:

Causes:

(1) Portugal refused to accept Continental System. French invasion. British army under Wellesley sent to Portugal. Battle of Vimiero. French defeated. Evacuated Portugal.
(2) Spain. Napoleon deposed Charles IV, and appointed his brother Joseph Bonaparte to be King of Spain.

Events:

Wellesley in command of British forces. Built lines of Torres Vedras. Large army collected behind the lines. Communication with Great Britain maintained through the work of the navy.

French disadvantages:
Hostile population.
Troops withdrawn for other campaigns.
Heavy losses. "The running sore."
At length Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) advanced and drove the French out of Spain.

1809. AUSTRIA:

At war with France again.
Battle of Wagram. French victory. Treaty of Vienna.

1812. RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN:

Cause:

Tsar's refusal to enforce the Continental System.

Events:

Napoleon, with a huge army, invaded Russia. Battle of Borodino. Russians defeated. Russians generally avoided battles. French reached Moscow. Fire. Delay. Retreat. Heavy losses.
(*a*) Cold of Russian winter.
(*b*) Lack of food.
(*c*) Disease—men and animals.
(*d*) Russian attacks.
(*e*) Many prisoners taken.

1813. FOURTH COALITION:

Russia, Prussia, Austria, Great Britain } *v.* France.

1813–14. WAR OF LIBERATION:

Napoleon raised fresh armies in France. Boys enlisted.
1813. Battle of Lützen
1813. Battle of Bautzen } French victories.
1813. Battle of Dresden
1813. Battle of Leipzig. Napoleon defeated. Retreated into France.
1814. Allies invaded France from the east, while Wellington invaded it from the south-west.
1814. Napoleon abdicated. Retired to Elba. Louis XVIII King of France. Allies reached Paris.
1814. First Treaty of Paris. Moderate.
1815. Congress of Vienna. To settle European affairs. Disagreements. Prolongation. Armies not disbanded.

1815. THE HUNDRED DAYS:

Napoleon left Elba. Landed in South of France. Marched to Paris. Army increased daily. Louis XVIII fled.
War.
Revival of the Fourth Coalition.

Russians and Austrians to invade France from the east.
British and Prussians to invade France from the north-east.
Campaign in the Netherlands:
Battle of Ligny. Napoleon drove Blücher back.
Battle of Quatre Bras. Wellington held fast, but fell back because of Blücher's retreat.
Battle of Waterloo. Napoleon defeated. Surrendered to the *Bellerophon*. Exiled to St. Helena.

1821. Death of Napoleon.

1815. SECOND TREATY OF PARIS:
(1) France to surrender her conquests.
(2) French boundaries to be those of 1789.
(3) France to pay a war indemnity of 700,000,000 francs.
(4) An army of occupation to remain in France for five years.

CAUSES OF NAPOLEON'S FALL:
(1) Decline of his military capacity.
(2) French losses in many wars.
(3) National feeling against Napoleon—in Portugal and Spain, in Austria and Prussia, and in Russia.
(4) Wellington's successes in the Peninsula.
(5) British naval strength.

BRITISH NAVAL ACHIEVEMENTS:
(1) Destruction of enemy fleets. Freedom of Great Britain from invasion.
(2) Capture of enemy colonies.
(3) Blockade of the continent. Enemy trade strangled.
(4) Maintenance of communication with Wellington in Spain.

24. TORY FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 1815

1815. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA:

Its aims:
(1) To settle the affairs of Europe. Impossible to return to pre-war conditions.
(2) To establish a ring of strong states round France.
(3) To reward the opponents of France, and punish her allies.
(4) To secure permanent peace by discouraging revolutionary movements.

Territorial arrangements:
(1) Norway taken from Denmark and given to Sweden.
(2) Belgium joined to Holland, under a king of the House of Orange.
(3) Austria received Milan and Venice.
(4) Prussia received part of Saxony and some Rhenish territory.
(5) Russia received Finland and most of Poland.

(6) Great Britain retained her colonial conquests, including the Cape.

(7) German Confederation formed, under leadership of Austria.

Criticism of the arrangements:

In the interests of rulers and not of nations. Much of the work of the Congress was undone during the nineteenth century.

Slave trade:

France, Spain, Portugal and Holland agreed to its abolition.

1807. (Great Britain had already abolished it.)

The Barbary Corsairs:

The Congress approved of measures against them. British

1816. fleet under Lord Exmouth bombarded Algiers. Released many Christian slaves.

1815. THE HOLY ALLIANCE:

Proposed by the Tsar. Supported by Metternich, Austrian Chancellor.

Consisted of Russia, Prussia and Austria. Great Britain refused to join.

Aim of the Holy Alliance:

Nominal:

To direct European affairs on Christian principles.

Real:

To suppress revolutionary movements, and maintain absolute monarchy everywhere in Europe. It was thought that revolutionary movements were likely to lead to war, and that they were unchristian.

1815–30. BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY:

Directed by

1815–22. Castlereagh.

1822–7. Canning.

1828–30. Wellington.

Its aim:

To oppose the absolutism favoured by the Holy Alliance. Policy of non-intervention. Each state to settle its own internal affairs without interference.

Castlereagh protested against intervention by the Holy Alliance.

Canning was ready to intervene in order to neutralise the intervention of the Holy Alliance.

1816. THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE:

Consisted of Great Britain and the three eastern powers.

Aims of the Quadruple Alliance:

(1) To maintain the Treaty of Paris.

(2) To meet from time to time in congresses to settle matters of importance in Europe.

Great Britain was not committed to the support of a definite line of policy at these congresses.

1818. THE CONGRESS OF AACHEN:

No serious dissension.
(1) Army of occupation withdrawn from France.
(2) France invited to join the Quadruple Alliance.

1820. THE CONGRESS OF TROPPAU:

Issue of the Protocol of Troppau. The powers claimed the right to intervene in countries where revolts had broken out. Castlereagh protested.

NAPLES:

Movement for a constitution. Suppressed by Austrian troops.

SPAIN:

Similar movement. Castlereagh, and, later, Canning, protested against Holy Alliance intervention. Without effect. Movement crushed.

SPANISH COLONIES:

In revolt since 1809. Holy Alliance intervention threatened. Canning recognised the independence of the South American republics. President James Monroe, of the United States, issued the Monroe Doctrine, warning the Holy Alliance not to intervene.

PORTUGAL:

Movement to secure a constitution. Holy Alliance action threatened. Canning sent a British fleet to the Tagus. Danger of a second Peninsular War. Holy Alliance withdrew. Portuguese gained their constitution.

1821–29. WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE:

Greek revolt against Turkish rule. Fighting for several years. Cruelty on both sides.

Difficulties of the powers:

(1) Holy Alliance could not intervene to put it down on Christian principles.
(2) European sympathy with Greeks.
(3) Great Britain and Austria reluctant to weaken Turkey, lest Russia be strengthened.

1825. Egyptian help for Turkey. Ibrahim Pasha in the Morea.
1826. Sultan refused mediation of Great Britain and Russia.
1827. Great Britain, France and Russia agreed to compel sultan to accept mediation. British and French fleets in Turkish waters. Battle of Navarino. Turkish and Egyptian fleets destroyed. Decisive of Greek independence.
1829. Wellington withdrew from participation. Russians invaded Turkey. Treaty of Adrianople. Greek independence granted. Diplomatic victory for Russia.

25. THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN TOWNS:

Bad housing conditions.
Bad factory conditions.
Long hours and low wages.
Labour of women and children.

IN THE COUNTRY:

Less crowding, but very low wages. Supplemented by doles from the poor law. Resulted in
(*a*) Pauperising and degradation of the peasantry.
(*b*) Wages remaining low.
(*c*) Absence of incentive to improvement.
(*d*) Heavy poor rate.

DISTRESS AFTER 1815:

(1) Unemployment, due to discharges from the army, navy and arsenals and munition works, and to trade depression, since Europe was too poor to buy British goods.
(2) National finance.
(*a*) Debt £831,000,000.
(*b*) Annual national expenditure had increased from £18,000,000 in 1792 to £100,000,000 in 1816.
(*c*) Abolition of income tax.
(*d*) National revenue from indirect taxation. Burden on the poor. Heavy duties on hundreds of articles of import.
(3) Low wages, due to unemployment; high prices due to heavy taxation.
(4) Agriculture prospered during the war. Additional land in cultivation. Landed interest tried to retain its prosperity
1815. after the war. Corn Law passed. No import of corn until the price exceeded eighty shillings per quarter. Bread at famine prices. Yet great variation in corn prices. Farmers ruined.
(5) Continued suspension of cash payments by the Bank of
1819. England. Resumed.
(6) Trade unions still illegal.

IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF THE DISTRESS:

(1) Rioting, especially against machinery.
1816. (2) Spa Fields riots.
1817. (3) Derbyshire insurrection.
1819. (4) Meeting at Manchester to demand parliamentary reform. Dispersed by cavalry. Manchester massacre.

GOVERNMENT POLICY:

Carried out by Sidmouth and Castlereagh. Opposed reform, especially parliamentary reform, lest it should lead to revolution. Policy of repression.

1817. Habeas Corpus Act suspended.
1819. Dispersal of the reform meeting at Manchester.
1819. The six acts.

THE MODERATE TORIES:

1822. Peel Home Secretary in place of Sidmouth.
1822. Canning Foreign Secretary in place of Castlereagh.
1823. Huskisson President of the Board of Trade.

Peel:

(1) Abandoned policy of repression.
(2) Reformed criminal law.
1829. (3) Established the Metropolitan Police.

Huskisson:

(1) Lower import duties on raw materials.
(2) Navigation laws relaxed in favour of the shipping of countries which offered privileges to British ships.

1824. Combination Laws relaxed.

REASONS FOR OPPOSITION TO REFORM:

Political:

Fear of revolution.

Economic:

(1) Wage Fund theory. Condemnation of both general and sectional increases in wages.
(2) Population question. Fear that population would increase faster than means of subsistence.

26. PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

PARLIAMENT BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION:

Representative of the nation, or, at least, of the landed interest, which was the most important in the nation.
System unsatisfactory after the growth of great towns.

NEED FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM:

(1) *Representation:*

Counties, irrespective of size, had two members each.
Towns which were represented had two members each.
Many towns represented in Parliament had become insignificant. Pocket boroughs.
Many important towns were unrepresented.

(2) *Franchise:*

In the counties, the forty-shilling freeholders.
In the towns, no uniformity of qualification. In many towns the council chose the members. In some towns the pot-wallopers possessed the right to vote.

(3) *Corruption:*
Bribery, treating, intimidation, personation.
(4) *Open voting:*
Made corruption possible.
(5) *Property qualification:*
Members of Parliament had to be landowners.
(6) *Religious disqualification:*
Membership of Parliament limited to Churchmen. Dissenters admitted under the annual Indemnity Act. Roman Catholics after 1829.

EARLY EFFORTS TO SECURE PARLIAMENTARY REFORM:

Chatham:
In favour of it. Against corruption.

Wilkes:
Made some unsuccessful proposals.

1780. *Duke of Richmond:*
Proposed annual Parliaments.
equal electoral districts.
voting by ballot.
Proposals defeated.

1785. *Pitt:*
Proposed that thirty-six small boroughs should be disfranchised and that the seats thus released should be assigned to large industrial towns.
After the French Revolution the question was postponed for many years.

ARGUMENTS IN DEFENCE OF THE OLD SYSTEM:

(1) The proposed reforms would not produce a better Parliament.
(2) The old system had enabled young men of capacity to enter Parliament under patronage.
(3) The French wars had been carried through successfully by Governments which existed under the old system.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FIRST REFORM ACT:

1830. The Whigs in power. Pledged to attempt parliamentary reform.
1831. First bill introduced. Passed second reading in Commons. Defeated in Committee. General election. Larger Whig majority.
1831. Second bill. Passed Commons. Defeated in Lords on second reading. Rioting in the country.
1832. Third bill. Passed Commons. Lords passed second reading, but made alterations in committee.
The Prime Minister advised the king to create new peers in order to carry the bill. King refused. Grey resigned. Wellington unable to form a ministry. Grey returned to office, and the king consented to the creation of peers if necessary.
Tories in the Lords withdrew. Bill became law.

1832. FIRST REFORM ACT:

Representation:

56 towns, under 2000 people, lost two members.
31 towns, 2000–4000 people, lost one member.
Large counties and industrial towns received members.
Eight new seats assigned to Scotland.
Five new seats assigned to Ireland.

Franchise:

In counties: Forty-shilling freeholders.
£10 copyholders.
£50 leaseholders.
In towns: £10 householders.

Results:

(1) Enfranchised middle classes, not the poor.
(2) Working classes disappointed. Chartist movement began.
(3) Era of reforms followed.
(4) Landed interest still powerful, but other groups appeared in Parliament.

1838–48. CHARTISM:

The People's Charter:

(1) Manhood suffrage.
(2) Equal electoral districts.
(3) Annual Parliaments.
(4) Payment of members of Parliament.
(5) Abolition of the property qualification.
(6) Voting by ballot.

Agitation for some years.

1848. Chartist petition to Parliament. Procession arranged. Dispersed. Petition contained many forged signatures. Movement died away.

(*a*) Through ridicule.
(*b*) Through the increasing prosperity and, therefore, contentment of the people.

MEMBERSHIP QUALIFICATIONS:

1858. Property qualification abolished.
1858. Jews became eligible for membership.

1859. DISRAELI'S PROPOSALS:

Franchise to be conferred on persons of property and education. Defeated.

1866. GLADSTONE'S PROPOSALS:

Franchise to be extended, in boroughs, to £7 householders and, in counties, to £14 householders. Defeated.

1867. SECOND REFORM ACT:

Franchise:

In boroughs: Household.
In counties: £12 householders.
Lodgers: £10 rental.

Redistribution:
Small towns disfranchised. Seats allocated to counties and large towns. Only the worst anomalies removed.
Scotland and Ireland:
Dealt with in separate acts.
Results:
(1) Beginning of democratic franchise in towns—working-men received the vote.
(2) Necessity for popular education.

1872. BALLOT ACT:
Established secret voting.

1883. CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES ACT:
Imposed penalties for bribery, treating, intimidation and impersonation.

1884. THIRD REFORM ACT:
Franchise:
In counties and boroughs. Household.
Redistribution:
Towns with under 15,000 people. No separate representation.
Towns with 15,000–50,000 people. One member.
Towns with 50,000–165,000 people. Two members.
Counties, and towns with more than 165,000 people, were divided into separate constituencies.
Some anomalies remained.
Results:
(1) Agricultural labourers enfranchised.
(2) Democratic system established.

HOUSE OF LORDS:
1911. *Parliament Act:*
(1) No power to amend or reject a Money Bill.
(2) Limited power of rejection of other bills.
(3) Maximum duration of Parliament reduced to five years.

1918. FOURTH REFORM ACT:
Franchise:
Included women over thirty who were householders or who were married to householders.
Redistribution:
In both towns and counties:
Under 50,000 people. No separate representation.
50,000–120,000 people. One member.
120,000–190,000 people. Two members.
An additional member for every 70,000 people.
Arithmetical basis of representation.
Membership of Parliament:
Open to women.

1928. FRANCHISE ACT:

Women over twenty-one enfranchised. Various anomalies removed. The vote given to practically every man and woman in the country.

27. THE ERA OF REFORMS

OBJECTIONS TO REFORM:

Economic:

Impossible. Conditions would ultimately become worse.

Political:

Fear of revolution.

ADVOCATES OF REFORM:

Humanitarian. Lord Ashley prominent in the movement. High character. Aristocratic. No ulterior motive.

Early reforms experimental. Moderate. Could be retracted if evil results followed.

TORY REFORMS:

Peel:

(1) Criminal Law.
(2) Metropolitan Police.
(3) Catholic Emancipation.

Huskisson:

(1) Lowering of duties.
(2) Reciprocity treaties.

Legalisation of trade unions.

WHIG REFORMS:

1832. *Parliamentary reform.*

1833. *Abolition of slavery:*

(1) Slave status ceased throughout the British Empire.
(2) Apprenticeship system for some years.
(3) £20,000,000 compensation.

Effects:

(1) No economic advantage. Reform carried on humanitarian grounds.
(2) Ruin of the West Indian sugar trade.
(3) Alienation of the Boers in South Africa.
(4) Compensation misapplied.

Slavery since 1833:

In many newly acquired colonies. Abolished as soon as possible.

1833. *Factory Act:*

(1) No employment of children under nine.
(2) Children between nine and thirteen to be employed under the half-time system.
(3) Factory inspectors appointed.

1833. *Education:*
Annual grant of £20,000 for the building of schools. Divided between British and National societies. Increased to £30,000 per annum in 1839.

1834. *Poor Law:*
Abolition of the Speenhamland system.
(1) No outdoor relief except to the aged and unfit.
(2) Destitute people to enter workhouse as a condition of obtaining relief.
(3) Boards of Guardians established to administer the act. Subject to Poor Law Commissioners.

Effect:
Great hardship for some years, but an ultimate improvement in the condition of the poor. Higher wages. Recovery of self-respect.

1835. *Municipal Corporations:*
Ended the close corporations.
(1) Town councils to consist of councillors and aldermen.
(2) Councillors to be directly elected, for three years.
(3) Aldermen to be elected by the council, for six years.

1836. *Births, marriages and deaths:*
To be registered. Made other measures of reform effective.

1836. *Church of England:*
Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed.
Tithe commutation permitted.

TORY REFORMS:

1842. *Mines Act:*
Prohibited labour of women and children in the mines.

1844. *Factory Act:*
(1) Modified the half-time system.
(2) Extended protection to women.

Free Trade:
1842–5. Many import duties removed from raw materials and manufactured goods. Income tax to supply revenue.
1846. Corn Laws repealed.

WHIG REFORMS:

Free Trade:
Most of the remaining duties removed by Russell.

Factory Acts:
1847. Ten hours day for all factory workers, including men.
1850. Hours of work specified.

GENERAL EFFECTS OF THE REFORMS:

(1) Evil results predicted by the economists did not come to pass.
(2) Improvement in the condition of the people. Wages rising. Less unemployment. Nation richer. Agriculture prosperous, despite the repeal of the Corn Law.

28. THE AGE OF PEEL AND PALMERSTON

1830–65

PEEL:

1819. Secured the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England.
1822-30. Home Secretary. Reformed criminal law. Established Metropolitan Police. Catholic Emancipation. Antagonised a section of the Tory party.

PALMERSTON:

1809-28. Secretary-at-War. Moderate Tory. Resigned. Whig by 1830.
1830-65. Dominated British foreign policy.

1830-4. GREY MINISTRY:

Whig majority in House of Commons.
1832. First Reform Act. General election followed. Large Whig majority. Many useful reforms.
1830. July revolution in France. Louis Philippe became king in place of Charles X.
1830. Belgian revolt against the Dutch. Palmerston supported Belgians, and prevented reconquest by Dutch and control by French.

1834. FIRST MELBOURNE MINISTRY:

After retirement of Earl Grey. Ministry dismissed by William IV.

1834-5. FIRST PEEL MINISTRY:

Wellington was no longer leader of the Tory party.
Peel changed its name to Conservative.
Tamworth Manifesto. Programme of moderate reform.
Conservatives gained many seats at the general election, but did not obtain a majority. Peel resigned.

1835–41. SECOND MELBOURNE MINISTRY:

Weak.
1837. Accession of Victoria. Melbourne advised her on the position and duties of a constitutional sovereign.
1839. Melbourne defeated. Resigned. Victoria sent for Peel, who refused office on the pretext afforded by the Bedchamber Question. Melbourne resumed office.
1841. General election. Conservative majority.
Palmerston as Foreign Secretary prevented either France or Russia acquiring influence in the eastern Mediterranean in the settlement after the Syrian War.

1841-6. SECOND PEEL MINISTRY:

Problems:
(1) Finance and trade.
(2) Ireland.
(3) Social conditions.

Finance and trade:

Budget failed to balance. Taxation heavy.

Peel removed duties from many articles of raw material and of manufactured goods.

1842. Income tax of sevenpence in the pound established for three years.

1845. Income tax continued, and further duties removed.

Ireland:

Young Ireland movement, aiming at the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament. Led by O'Connell.

Projected meeting at Clontarf forbidden.

O'Connell arrested.

Grant to Maynooth College.

Unsectarian university education started. Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway.

Social conditions:

1842. Mines Act.

1844. Factory Act.

Corn Law:

1838. Anti-Corn Law League established by Cobden, Bright and Villiers. Little success at first. Conservative majority at the election of 1841 pledged to maintenance of the Corn Laws.

Peel came round to the view that corn should be admitted free of duty, since import was necessary to feed the population.

1845–6. Irish potato failure. Famine.

1846. Peel proposed repeal of the Corn Law. Conservatives divided, but Whigs supported Peel. Repeal carried.

Peel was defeated and resigned, shortly afterwards.

Peel after retirement from office:

The greatest personage in the House of Commons. Supported the Whigs in order to maintain Free Trade.

Twice split his party. Put the interests of the nation before those of his party.

1846–52. FIRST RUSSELL MINISTRY:

Supported by the Peelites.

Most of the remaining duties removed.

1848. *Year of Revolutions.*

Louis Philippe passed into exile. France a republic.

Fall of Metternich.

Hungarian revolt under Kossuth.

Palmerston and the queen:

Palmerston sympathised with the movements in Europe. Victoria against them. Friction between queen and Palmerston.

1850. Queen issued a Memorandum, in which she required Palmerston to consult her and obtain her approval before acting. He promised compliance.

1851. Second Empire in France. Louis Napoleon became emperor

as Napoleon III. Palmerston expressed approbation. Forced to resign. Ministry weakened.

1852. Ministry fell.

1852. FIRST DERBY-DISRAELI MINISTRY:
No majority. Compelled to accept Free Trade. Defeated soon afterwards.

1852–5. ABERDEEN MINISTRY:
Coalition of Whigs and Peelites.
Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Palmerston, Home Secretary.
Crimean War. Mismanagement. Ministry defeated. Resigned.

1855–8. FIRST PALMERSTON MINISTRY:
Peelites resigned from the cabinet, but supported Government in the House of Commons.
Crimean War ended.
China and Persia Wars.
Orsini conspiracy to murder Napoleon III. French anger against Great Britain. Danger of war.
Palmerston proposed the Conspiracy to Murder Bill. Denounced as "truckling to France." Defeated. Palmerston resigned.

1858–9. SECOND DERBY-DISRAELI MINISTRY:
No majority. Attempted parliamentary reform. Failed. Resigned.

1859–65. SECOND PALMERSTON MINISTRY:
Whigs and Peelites. Tendency to fusion, but the Whigs under Palmerston were against social and political reform, while the Peelites under Gladstone favoured reform.

1864. *Schleswig War.* Denmark lost Schleswig-Holstein. Great Britain neutral.

1861–5. *American Civil War.* Great Britain neutral. British sympathy with the north on the slavery question.
Trent incident. Capture of two southern envoys from a British steamer. Released.
Alabama incident. Much damage done to northern shipping by the *Alabama*, a vessel built in England. Arbitration. Great Britain compelled to pay compensation.

1865. *Death of Palmerston.* Vigorous foreign policy. High conception of British position in the world. No belief in democracy.

29. INDIA UNDER THE INDIA ACT

1784–1858

1784. INDIA ACT:
(1) The commercial and political functions of the Company to be separated.
(2) Board of Control to be established in London to supervise the Company's political work.

(3) Company to deal with commercial affairs.
(4) Political affairs to be referred by the Company to the Board of Control.
(5) Appointments to be made by the Company, but the approval of the Board of Control to be obtained for appointments to important posts.

1786. Governor-General empowered to override the council in emergencies.

1786–93. LORD CORNWALLIS:

1790–2. *Second Mysore War:*
Tipu defeated. Lost some of his territory.

Permanent settlement of Bengal:
Land assessment. Not subject to revision. Advantage to cultivators.

1793–8. SIR JOHN SHORE:
Uneventful.

1798. MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY:

Third Mysore War:
Seringapatam taken. Tipu slain. Territory of Mysore reduced. Former line of rajahs restored.

Native armies disbanded. Protection of the Company accepted by Hyderabad and Oudh.

Annexations:
Doab.
Rohilkund.
Carnatic.
Tanjore.

1803–6. *Second Maratha War:*
Sindhia, Holkar, Bhonsla } *v.* Peshwar. British supported Peshwar.
Sir Arthur Wellesley defeated Sindhia at Assaye and Argaum. General Lake captured Delhi and Agra, and defeated the Mogul at Laswaree. Sindhia and Bhonsla submitted. Holkar held out till 1806.

BRITISH POLICY:
Directors of the Company became alarmed at the growth of the forward policy. Non-intervention for some years. Reasonable policy, in view of the Napoleonic struggle in Europe.

1813–23. MARQUIS OF HASTINGS:

Forward policy:
Wars against Gurkhas, Pindaris and Marathas (Third). Maratha power destroyed.
Some reforms.

1823–8. LORD AMHERST:

First Burmese War:
Assam conquered.

1828–35. LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK:

Reforms:

(1) Thuggee stamped out.
(2) Suttee forbidden.
(3) Native education encouraged.
(4) Press freed from censorship.

1833. Company ceased to trade.

1836–41. LORD AUCKLAND:

North-west frontier:

Problem of protection against Russian aggression.

1837-43. *First Afghan War:*

Disasters. Loss of prestige.

1848–56. LORD DALHOUSIE:

Sikh Wars:

Punjab annexed.

Rule of the Lawrences in the Punjab:

(1) Thuggee stamped out.
(2) Roads constructed.
(3) Land assessment carried out.
(4) Irrigation works begun.

Dalhousie's measures:

(1) Beginning of railway construction. Line from Calcutta to Delhi.
(2) Doctrine of lapse. Refusal to recognise Indian custom of adoption.

1856–62. LORD CANNING.

1857. INDIAN MUTINY:

Causes:

(1) British army in India too small.
(2) Loss of prestige after Afghan War.
(3) One hundred years after the Battle of Plassey.
(4) The greased cartridges.
(5) Too rapid introduction of western reforms. Native prejudices not sufficiently respected.
(6) Doctrine of lapse.

Events:

Not a general rising. Sepoy mutiny in the Ganges valley and Oudh.

Risings at Meerut and other garrison towns. Massacre at Cawnpore. Siege and relief of Lucknow. Collapse of the mutiny.

Results:

(1) Later reforms introduced in such a way as not to arouse antagonism.
(2) Restoration of British prestige.
(3) Doctrine of lapse dropped.
1858. (4) Abolition of the East India Company. Sovereignty of the queen.

30. THE EASTERN QUESTION

TURKISH EMPIRE:

Formerly extensive. Included Tripoli, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula. Declined during the eighteenth century.

Occasional barbaric outbursts against the Christian peoples in the empire. European sympathy with the oppressed. Fear of Russian aggression in the Balkans. Jealousies of the European powers.

1821-9. GREEK INDEPENDENCE:

The first step towards the dissolution of the Turkish Empire. Diplomatic victory for Russia, through the withdrawal of Wellington from the settlement of the question.

SYRIAN QUESTION:

Mehemet Ali:

Viceroy of Egypt. Overran Syria. Sultan sought Russian protection.

1833. *Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi:*

The Dardanelles to be closed to the warships of all nations except Russia. Great Britain, France and Austria protested.

1839. *Mehemet Ali:*

Invaded Syria again. French supported Mehemet Ali. Russia supported Turkey. Palmerston intervened to prevent an accession of strength to either France or Russia.

1840. *Quadruple Alliance:*

Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria to settle the question by offering terms to Mehemet Ali and compelling him to accept them.

1841. *Treaty of London:*

(1) Mehemet Ali to renounce his claim on Syria.

(2) Mehemet Ali placed under joint guarantee of the powers of the Alliance with regard to his position as hereditary pasha of Egypt.

1842. *Convention of the Straits:*

The Dardanelles to be closed to the warships of all nations.

NICHOLAS I:

1825-55. Tsar.

Attempted to reach agreement with Great Britain on the Eastern Question.

1844. (1) Visited Great Britain.

(2) Conversation with the British ambassador at St. Petersburg.

Suggested that Great Britain should take Egypt and Cyprus (or Crete), and that Russia should establish principalities in the Balkans.

Britain would not agree. Regrettable. The Tsar's proposals might have led to a settlement which other powers would have been compelled to accept.

1854-6. CRIMEAN WAR:

Great Britain, France, Turkey } *v.* Russia.

Real cause:

British and French suspicion of Russian designs.

Immediate cause:

Dispute about the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. French supported Roman Catholic claims. Russia supported Greek claims. Great Britain supported France.

Events:

1854. Russian troops invaded Moldavia and Wallachia. British and French fleets in Turkish waters. Austrian and Prussian intervention failed. Battle of Sinope. Russians destroyed Turkish fleet. Russian army withdrew from Turkish territory. Russian fleet withdrew to Sebastopol.

1854. British (under Lord Raglan) and French (under Marshal St. Arnaud) invaded the Crimea, in order to destroy Sebastopol. Battle of the Alma. Siege of Sebastopol. Battles

1854–5. of Balaclava and Inkerman. Sufferings of troops during the winter. Nursing service organised by Florence

1855. Nightingale. Capture of Sebastopol.

1856. *Treaty of Paris:*

(1) Conquests to be restored, but Sebastopol not to be refortified.

(2) The Dardanelles to be closed to the warships and open to the trading ships of all nations.

(3) Neither Russia nor Turkey to keep a fleet in the Black Sea.

(4) Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia to be independent of Turkey. Nominal overlordship of the sultan. (Moldavia and Wallachia united to form Roumania.)

1871. DENUNCIATION OF THE TREATY OF PARIS:

After the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Russia began building a Black Sea fleet. Great Britain acquiesced.

1875-8. BULGARIAN QUESTION:

1875. Risings in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1876. Rising in Bulgaria. Massacres. Austria and Great Britain demanded reforms of the sultan. Gladstone stirred British public opinion. Serbia and Montenegro made war upon Turkey. Defeated.

1877. Russia made war upon Turkey. Siege and defence of Plevna. Captured. Russians marched on Constantinople.

1878. *Treaty of San Stefano:*

Large independent Bulgar state to be formed.

Treaty unacceptable to the powers. Revised at the Congress of Berlin.

1878. TREATY OF BERLIN:

(1) Bulgaria reduced in size. Nominal Turkish overlordship.
(2) Eastern Roumelia to remain within the Turkish Empire under a Christian governor.
(3) Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania to be entirely independent.
(4) Bosnia and Herzegovina to pass under Austrian rule.
(5) Great Britain to receive Cyprus.

N.B. Russian designs in the Balkans checked. Russian efforts at expansion directed elsewhere—eastwards, to Manchuria, and south-eastwards, to Persia and Afghanistan.

1894-6. ARMENIAN QUESTION:

Turkish outrages. No European intervention. Russia unwilling to act, and Great Britain unwilling to act alone.

1897. GREEK WAR:

1896. Cretan revolt. Greek help. Greeks hoped to annex Crete. Powers intervened. Sultan granted Cretan independence, but Greeks would not withdraw. British blockade of Crete.
1897. War between Greece and Turkey. Turkish victory. Greeks withdrew from Crete.

TWENTIETH CENTURY:

1908. Revolution in Turkey. "Young Turk" party secured a constitution.
1908. Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina.
1908. Bulgaria renounced the nominal overlordship of Turkey.
1911. War between Italy and Turkey. Italians conquered Tripoli.
1911. War between the Balkan League and Turkey. Turks defeated and lost some territory.
1914-18. Turkey in alliance with the central powers in the European War.
1923. Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey permitted to retain Constantinople. Their capital to be Angora.
1923. Turkish republic. Adoption of Western ideas.

31. THE AGE OF DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

1865–1901

1865-6. SECOND RUSSELL MINISTRY:

Gladstone Leader of the House of Commons. Reform Bill defeated. Ministry resigned.

1866-8. THIRD DERBY-DISRAELI MINISTRY:

No majority in the House of Commons.

1867. Second Reform Act carried. Working-men in towns enfranchised.
1868. Earl of Derby resigned on account of illness.

1868. FIRST DISRAELI MINISTRY:

No majority. Disraeli soon defeated. Resigned.

1868–74. FIRST GLADSTONE MINISTRY:

Liberal majority at the general election.

Reforms:

1869. Disestablishment of the Irish Church.
1870. Beginning of public elementary education.
First Irish Land Act.
1871. Oxford and Cambridge opened to Dissenters.
Short service system in the army.
Legalisation of trade unions.
1872. Abolition of the purchase of commissions in the army.
Ballot Act.

Foreign affairs:

1871. Russia denounced the Treaty of Paris. Began building a Black Sea fleet.
Arbitration on the *Alabama* case. Award against Great Britain.

Finance:

Rigid economy. Income tax reduced to threepence in the pound.

Unpopularity of the Government:

(1) Weak foreign policy.
(2) Churchmen offended by the disestablishment of the Irish Church and by the opening of Oxford and Cambridge to Dissenters.
(3) Dissenters offended by some parts of the Elementary Education Act.
(4) Working classes disliked part of the Trade Unions Act.
(5) Upper classes disliked the abolition of army purchase and the legalisation of trade unions.

Conservative majority at the general election.

1874–80. SECOND DISRAELI MINISTRY:

Many useful reforms. Adoptive acts.
1875. Purchase of Suez Canal shares.
1877. Victoria became Empress of India.
1878. Settlement of the Eastern Question at Berlin. "Peace with honour."
1879. Dual control in Egypt.

1880–5. SECOND GLADSTONE MINISTRY:

Foreign affairs:

1881. South Africa. Battle of Majuba Hill. Boer independence recognised.

1882. Egypt. Revolt of Arabi Pasha. Battle of Tel-el-Kebir. British occupation of Egypt.
1884. Withdrawal from the Sudan. Death of Gordon.

Irish affairs:

1881. Second Irish Land Act.
1882. Murder of Cavendish and Burke. Coercion Act. Opposition of Irish members in Parliament.

Parliamentary Reform:

1884. Third Reform Act. Agricultural labourers enfranchised.

1885-6. FIRST SALISBURY MINISTRY:

1885. Ashbourne's Irish Land Purchase Act.

1886. THIRD GLADSTONE MINISTRY:

1886. First Home Rule Bill. Supported by Irish, but opposed by Liberal Unionists. Defeated.

1886–92. SECOND SALISBURY MINISTRY:

Supported by Liberal Unionists. Goschen, a Liberal Unionist, became Chancellor of the Exchequer.
1887. Irish Land Act. Firm rule of Ireland by Balfour. Disorder suppressed.
1887. Victoria's Jubilee.
1888. Establishment of county councils.

1892-4. FOURTH GLADSTONE MINISTRY:

1893. Second Home Rule Bill. Passed by Commons. Defeated by House of Lords. Beginning of agitation against the Upper House.
Gladstone resigned on account of old age.

1894-5. ROSEBERY MINISTRY:

Harcourt's budgets. Death duties.
1894. Parish councils established.
1895. Government defeated and resigned.

1895–1902. THIRD SALISBURY MINISTRY:

Coalition of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.

Affairs abroad:

Venezuelan boundary dispute. Danger of war with the United States. Arbitration. Award in favour of Great Britain.
South Africa. Jameson raid into the Transvaal defeated.
1899–1902. South African War.
1898. Reconquest of the Sudan. Fashoda incident.
1901. Australian Commonwealth came into existence.

Victoria:

1897. Diamond jubilee. First colonial conference.
1901. Death of the queen.

32. TWENTIETH-CENTURY POLITICS

(1901–30)

THIRD SALISBURY MINISTRY (*continued*):

Lord Salisbury continued in office until the end of the South African War. Intended to resign after the coronation of Edward VII. King's illness. Postponement of the coronation.

1902. Salisbury resigned.

1902–5. BALFOUR MINISTRY:

Foreign affairs:

Abandonment of isolation.

1904. Anglo-French Convention. Settled matters in dispute between the two countries. Anglo-French Entente.

1907. Anglo-Russian Convention. Similar settlement with Russia. Triple Entente. Not an alliance.

Home affairs:

1902. Education Act. Abolition of school boards. Nonconformist opposition to some parts of the act. Secondary schools established.

1903. Irish Land Purchase Act.

1903. Joseph Chamberlain advocated Tariff Reform. Unity of the Conservative party destroyed.

Unpopularity of the Government:

(1) Tariff reform agitation.
(2) Nonconformist agitation against the Education Act.
(3) "Chinese slavery" in South Africa.

Balfour resigned. Conservatives defeated at general election.

1906–8. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN MINISTRY:

Large Liberal majority. Labour party in Parliament.

1908. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman retired through ill-health.

1908–16. ASQUITH MINISTRY:

The House of Lords and the Government:

Education Bill drastically amended by the Lords. Dropped by the Government.

Licensing Bill rejected by the Lords.

Plural Voting Bill rejected by the Lords.

1909. Lloyd George's budget rejected by the Lords.

1910 (Jan.). General election. Government majority of 130, with support of Irish and Labour members. Attitude of Irish uncertain. Decided to support Government against Lords.

1910. Budget of 1909 reintroduced and passed.

1910 (May). Death of Edward VII and accession of George V.

1910 (Dec.). General election. Government majority unchanged.

1911. *Parliament Act:*

(1) Lords not to reject finance bills.
(2) Limited power to reject other bills.
(3) Maximum duration of Parliament to be five years.

Passed by the Lords after the Government threatened to create new peers.
Appeared to strengthen the House of Lords.

1912. Home Rule Bill and Welsh Disestablishment Bill passed by Commons and rejected by Lords.

1913. These two bills and a Plural Voting Bill passed by Commons and rejected by Lords.

1914. Welsh Disestablishment Bill became law.
Home Rule Bill passed. Preparations for resistance in Ulster. Proposed compromise to exclude Ulster. Postponement of the matter when war broke out.

Social Reforms:

1909. Old Age Pensions.

1911. National Health and Unemployment Insurance.

Parliament:

Existence lengthened during the war.

Ministry:

1915. Reconstructed as a coalition of Liberals and Conservatives.

1916. Asquith resigned.

1916–22. LLOYD GEORGE MINISTRY:

Liberals divided. Asquith led the opposition.

1918. Education Act.
Representation of the People Act. Women over thirty enfranchised.

Ireland:

1916. Rebellion in Dublin. Suppressed.
Sinn Fein Movement to establish an Irish republic. Outrages. Disorder.

1922. Ireland divided into Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. Parliaments in each part.

1922. Conservatives withdrew from the coalition. Lloyd George resigned.

1922–3. BONAR LAW MINISTRY:

Conservative majority at the general election. 142 Labour members. Bonar Law resigned through illness. Died soon after.

1923–4. FIRST BALDWIN MINISTRY:

Revival of Tariff Reform. General election. Conservatives defeated. Over 190 Labour members. About 150 Liberals.

1924. FIRST MACDONALD MINISTRY:

Depended upon Liberal support. Defeated in connection with Russian policy. Conservative majority at the general election. Only about fifty Liberals returned.

1924–9. SECOND BALDWIN MINISTRY:

Trade policy:

No general tariff. No food taxes. Safeguarding duties. Discontent of protectionists, especially of the landed interest.

Industrial unrest:

1926. Falling wages and prices. Unemployment. Coal stoppage.
1926. General strike.
1928. Women over twenty-one enfranchised.
1929. General election. Conservatives defeated.

1929. SECOND MACDONALD MINISTRY:

No absolute majority, but Labour was largest party in the House of Commons.

33. IRELAND SINCE THE UNION

IRISH GRIEVANCES:

Religious:

(1) Catholic restrictions.
(2) Privileged position of the Irish Church.

Commercial:

Free trade between Great Britain and Ireland worked to the disadvantage of the Irish.

Political:

Ireland ruled from Dublin Castle by English officials.

Agrarian:

(1) Rack-renting of peasantry by Irish landlords.
(2) Rents raised against improvements.
(3) Evictions.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION:

Reasons for restrictions:

(General) Conflict of claims, royal and papal, on the obedience of Roman Catholics. Divided allegiance.
(In Ireland) Fear that the Catholic majority might oppress the Protestant minority.

The movement for Catholic Emancipation:

George III opposed it.
Open question after the beginning of the regency. Tories divided.

1823. Catholic Association founded by O'Connell. Orderly.
1825. Catholic Association suppressed. Re-established.
1828. Clare election. O'Connell returned. Probably many Catholic members would be returned at the next general election.
Wellington and Peel gave way rather than risk war.
1828. Test and Corporation Acts repealed.
1829. Roman Catholic Relief Act. All disabilities removed, except those connected with the throne.
In Ireland, franchise limited to £10 landowners.

CHURCH OF IRELAND:

Irish grievance:

The payment of tithes by all Irish cultivators to the State Church.

1838. Irish Tithes Act. Tithes to be paid by landlords.
1843. Peel established the Maynooth grant.

1869. *Disestablishment:*
(1) Irish Church ceased to be State Church.
(2) Irish archbishops and bishops removed from House of Lords.
(3) Irish Church retained churches and cathedrals.
(4) Property taken from it, but £10,000,000 restored.
(5) Life interests of Irish clergy safeguarded.

Effects of disestablishment:
(1) Removal of grievance.
(2) Benefit to the Church.

THE POLITICAL AND AGRARIAN QUESTIONS:

Young Ireland movement. Aimed at the repeal of the union.
1843. Led by O'Connell. Meeting arranged to take place at Clontarf. Forbidden. O'Connell arrested. Lost influence.
1845–6. Famine. Repeal of the Corn Law. Mismanagement of relief. Suffering. Beginning of migration to America. Irish-American hostility to Great Britain.
1848. Rebellion. Easily suppressed.
1863. Fenian movement. Aimed at the establishment of an Irish republic.
1865. Fenian conspiracy. Leaders arrested.
1866. Fenian invasion of Canada. Dispersed.
1867. Fenian outrages in Great Britain.
1870. First Irish Land Act. Compensation for improvements. Main grievances untouched.
1870. Home Rule League formed. Led by Butt, and then by Parnell.
1879. Land League formed. Outrages. Boycotting.
1881. Second Irish Land Act. Land courts to fix rents, which were to be unchanged for fifteen years.
Disorder.
1881. First Coercion Act. To suppress disorder. No-rent campaign. Parnell and others arrested and released.
1882. Murder of Cavendish and Burke in Dublin.
1882. Second Coercion Act. Special tribunals established. Irish opposition to Gladstone in Parliament.
1885. Ashbourne's Land Purchase Act.
1886. First Home Rule Bill. Defeated in the Commons.
Balfour, Chief Secretary. Outrages firmly suppressed.
1887. Land Act. Revision of rents. Extended facilities for purchase of land by Irish tenants.
1887. Third Coercion Act. Resident magistrates appointed. Cases tried without juries.
1893. Second Home Rule Bill. Defeated in the Lords.
1897. County councils established in Ireland.

PARTY VIEWS ON THE IRISH QUESTION:

(The parties admitted that political and agrarian discontent existed.)

Conservative:
That if the agrarian trouble was settled the political agitation would die away.
That the best settlement of the agrarian problem was the encouragement of land purchase by tenants.

Liberal:
That self-government for Ireland was essential.
That the land legislation palliated but did not settle the agrarian problem.
That the ultimate solution of the agrarian problem must come from an Irish Parliament.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY IRELAND:

1903. Land Purchase Act. Successful. Increasing prosperity.
Devolution proposals. Not acceptable. Dropped.
1911. Irish members supported Parliament Act.
1912. Third Home Rule Bill. Rejected by Lords.
1913. Again rejected by Lords.
1914. Again rejected by Lords, but passed under the Parliament Act.
Preparations for resistance in Ulster. Compromise proposed. Ulster to be excluded. Postponement of the question on the outbreak of war.

SINN FEIN:

Aimed at the establishment of an Irish republic.
1916 Rebellion in Dublin. Suppressed.
Disorder.

1922. SETTLEMENT:
Ireland divided into the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. Parliament in each part.

34. ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS SINCE THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

EARLY YEARS:
Feeling of hostility.
Trade resumed. Cotton from the southern states to Lancashire.

1812–14. WAR:
Cause:
Search of American ships by the British for contraband and for deserters.
Events:
American invasion of Canada repulsed.
Naval activity. *Shannon* v. *Chesapeake.*
British invasion of the United States. Capture of Washington.
Peace:
1814. Treaty of Ghent.

BOUNDARIES:

1842. Ashburton Treaty. Maine and New Brunswick.
1846. Oregon Treaty. Forty-ninth parallel.

1861–5. AMERICAN CIVIL WAR:

British sympathies: Upper classes—with south.
Working classes—with north.

British Government neutral, but recognised southern states as belligerents. No recognition of southern independence. No offer of mediation.

Trent and *Alabama* incidents.

Cotton famine in Lancashire.

IRISH-AMERICANS:

Migration of Irish to United States. Fenian movement. Invasion of Canada. Repelled. Disavowed by the United States.

TRADE:

Transcontinental railways built. Prairies opened to settlement. Export of wheat and canned goods to Great Britain. Import of British manufactured goods.

ALASKA:

1866. Purchased from Russia by the United States. Seal-fishing dispute between United States and Canada. Arbitration.
1892. Award in favour of Canadian claims.

1896. VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE:

Boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela in dispute. President Cleveland revived the Monroe doctrine. Threat of war. Arbitration. British victory.

EUROPEAN WAR:

United States neutral at first. Friction with Great Britain over the right of search. Anger at German "unrestricted" submarine warfare.

1917. United States entered war.

SINCE THE WAR:

Debt question. Great Britain's debt to the United States.
1923. Terms of repayment settled by Mr. Baldwin.
United States refused to enter the League of Nations.
1922. Washington Conference. For reduction of naval armaments.
1930. London Conference. For reduction of naval armaments.

POSITION AT THE PRESENT DAY:

Growing friendliness.
Hostility from
(1) Irish-Americans.
(2) Farmers of the middle west.

35. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

RAILWAYS:

Before steam locomotives:

18th cent. In colliery districts. Pithead to river-bank or canal-bank. Wooden rails.

After 1767. Iron rails. Flanged wheels. Haulage by men or horses.

Early 19th cent. Several railways. Haulage by horses or by stationary engine and cable. Stephenson built locomotives at Killingworth.

Early steam railways:

1825. Stockton and Darlington.

1830. Liverpool and Manchester.

1830–40. Liverpool and Birmingham.
London and Birmingham.
Great Western.

1840–50. Many small lines.

Characteristics of early railways:

(1) No uniformity of gauge. (Ultimately 4 ft. 8½ in. or 7 ft.)
(2) Short, and often disconnected.
(3) Built for goods rather than passengers.
(4) Much privately-owned rolling stock.
(5) Private enterprise. No Government construction.
(6) Opposition of landowners and towns.
(7) Great expense. Solidity of track and of rolling stock.

Systematisation:

(1) Standard gauge. Broad gauge on Great Western until near end of nineteenth century.
(2) Joining up disconnected lines.
(3) Amalgamation of small companies.
(4) Small companies bought up by large companies.

1842. (5) Railway Clearing House.

Parliamentary control:

(1) Gauge.
(2) Rules for safety.
(3) Parliamentary trains.

1873. (4) Railway and Canal Commission. Preferences forbidden.

Tendency towards amalgamation:

1899. South-Eastern and Chatham.

1909. Proposed amalgamation of Great Central, Great Eastern and Great Northern. Working agreement.

1921. Four large companies.

ROADS:

Early 19c. Turnpikes. Improvement in roads. Importance declined with the coming of railways. Trusts disappeared.

Late 19c. Small amount of traffic. High roads fairly good. By-roads bad. Roads in charge of county and district councils.

20c. Motor traffic. Increased importance of roads. Cost of new roads partly met from a Road Fund, raised by motor taxation.

CANALS:

Importance diminished. Unable to meet competition of railways. Still used, especially for heavy goods for which speed is not essential.

SHIPPING:

Early steamboats:

Steam an adjunct to sailing.

1812. Steamboat on the Clyde.

1819. Steamboat crossed the Atlantic.

1825. Steamboat went to India.

Suez Canal:

Open only to steamboats. Rapid advance of steam over sail.

Developments:

Iron in place of wood. Steel in place of iron.

Triple and quadruple expansion engines. Economical of fuel.

Turbine engines.

POSTS, ETC.:

1840. Penny postage.

1870. Public telegraphs.

1912. Public telephones.

MOTORS:

On land:

Great development. Importance of roads revived. Competition with railways, except for very long distance traffic.

By sea:

Steam engine holds its own. Oil fuel. Motors for submarines.

By air:

High speeds. High degree of safety. Great future possibilities.

36. FACTORIES AND FACTORY LEGISLATION

CONDITIONS OF EARLY FACTORY LABOUR:

(1) Buildings badly lit and ventilated, insanitary, dirty and crowded.

(2) Dangerous machinery. Accidents frequent.

(3) Employment of women and children.

(4) Overworking, underfeeding and ill-treatment of apprentices.

PUBLIC VIEWS:

Humanitarian:

That child labour was not in itself an evil, but that its abuses needed correction.

Economists:

Laissez-faire. That it was improper to interfere with freedom of contract between employer and employee.

Reconciliation of these views:

Contract between factory owner and child was not a free contract. State might legitimately intervene to protect those who could not make a fair bargain for themselves.

DEGREES OF STATE INTERFERENCE:

1802. Apprentices only.
1819. Children under sixteen.
1833. Young people under eighteen.
1844. Women.
1847. Men.

EARLY FACTORY ACTS:

1802. *First Factory Act:*

(1) Applied only to cotton and woollen factories.
(2) Apprentices not to work more than twelve hours per day, and not at night.
(3) Rules concerning clothing, instruction, religious observances and factory premises.
(4) Visitors to see to the enforcement of the act.

Resulted in a tendency to employ wage-earning children in place of apprentices.

1819. *Second Factory Act:*

(1) Applied to all children employed in cotton factories.
(2) Children under nine not to be employed.
(3) Children under sixteen not to work more than twelve hours per day.

1825. } *Amending Acts:*
1831. }

Slight extensions of existing rules.

Reasons for ineffectiveness of these acts:

(1) Visitation of factories insufficient to ensure enforcement of the law.
(2) Hours of beginning and ending work not prescribed.
(3) No evidence of breaches of the law could be obtained from the workers.
(4) No definite proof of age was obtainable.

EFFECTIVE FACTORY ACTS:

1833. *Althorp's Factory Act:*

(1) Applied to all factories except silk mills.
(2) Children between nine and thirteen to be employed only on the half-time system. Nine hours in factory, two hours in school. Maximum of forty-eight hours per week in factory.
(3) Young people from thirteen to eighteen to be employed not more than twelve hours daily, or sixty-nine per week.
(4) Factory inspectors to be appointed. Empowered to levy fines.

N.B. (*a*) Compulsory education for children employed in factories.

(*b*) Effective application of the act, through the inspectors.
(*c*) The power of inflicting fines was unjust to factory owners.

1844. *Peel's Factory Act:*
(1) Minimum age of employed children reduced to eight.
(2) Half-time reduced to six and a half hours in the factory with two hours at school, or, as an alternative, ten hours in the factory on alternate days.
(3) Protection of young people extended to women.
(4) Prosecutions for breaches of the law.
N.B. (*a*) Definite proof of age possible.
(*b*) Injustice to factory owners removed.

1847. *Fielden's Factory Act:*
Ten hours day for all factory workers, in effect.
N.B. (*a*) Protection afforded to men, since their work was dependent upon that of women and children.
(*b*) Hours of work not defined. Factory might be open for fifteen hours, so that the law was easily evaded.

1850. *Grey's Factory Act:*
Factory hours to be from six to six, with one and a half hours allowed for meals.
N.B. The factory day was ten and a half hours, but the maximum for the week was sixty.

LATER FACTORY LEGISLATION:
Complex code of rules. Applicable in many industries. Protection afforded in many ways to all classes of workers. *Laissez-faire* principles entirely disregarded.

37. TRADE UNIONISM

TRADE UNIONS:
Associations of workpeople formed to improve their conditions of labour.

CONTROL OF LABOUR CONDITIONS:
In the Middle Ages:
By the gilds.
Under Elizabeth and in the Stuart period:
1563. Statute of Artificers:
(1) Apprenticeship enforced.
(2) Proportion of skilled workmen to apprentices.
(3) Wages fixed by justices of the peace.
(4) Hours of labour settled.
Eighteenth century:
Laissez-faire. Statute of Artificers no longer enforced.

18th cent. EARLY TRADE UNIONS:
Aimed at securing the enforcement of the Statute of Artificers in regard to the proportion between skilled workers and apprentices.

Petitions to Parliament for the enforcement of the law.

1813–14. Repeal of the Statute of Artificers.

1799–1800.
Combination Laws. Trade unions made illegal.

1799–1824. TRADE UNIONS ILLEGAL:

Existed:
(*a*) Secretly.
(*b*) As friendly societies.

Reasons for prohibition:
(*a*) Political. Fear of revolution.
(*b*) Economic. Trade union action regarded as unfair to other groups of workers.

1824–71. LIMITED RECOGNITION OF TRADE UNIONS:

1824. Workmen allowed to combine for the purpose of bargaining about wages and hours of labour, but not for any other purpose.
Many unions formed.
(*a*) Short-lived. Funds accumulated. Strike. Funds exhausted. Collapse.
(*b*) Well-organised. Friendly benefits. Not eager to strike. The basis of the "Old Unionism."

1867. Royal Commission. To inquire into the working of trade unions. Failed to condemn them. Reported that violence and strikes existed chiefly where there was no settled union. Recommended the full legalisation of trade unions.

1871. TRADE UNIONS ACT:

(1) Trade unions legalised for all purposes. Enabled to hold property and accumulate funds.
(2) Registration of trade unions—not compulsory.

1875. (Amending act) Workmen on strike protected from prosecution for conspiracy.

1876. (Amending act) Stated conditions under which registration of a union might be cancelled.

TRADE UNIONISM SINCE 1871:

The New Unionism:
No friendly benefits. Aimed at securing benefits by political action and at organising the working classes into a distinct political party—the Labour party.

Unions of unskilled workers:
Difficult to form. Contributions of members necessarily small. Men on strike easily replaced.

1887. Dockers' Union formed.

1889. Dock Strike.

LARGER GROUPS:

National federations:
In several important branches of industry, such as mining, printing, building, transport and railways.

1899. *General Federation of Trade Unions.*
Trade Union Congress:
Annual, since 1871. Directs general policy.

38. AGRICULTURE IN GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

RURAL SOCIETY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:
Upper class:
Squires. Monopolised political power in the early part of the century. Possessed large estates. Divided into farms. The home farm cultivated directly under the management of a bailiff.
Middle class:
Tenant farmers. Rented farms from the squires. Possessed capital.
Lower class:
Labourers. Badly paid. Cottage and garden rent-free or at a nominal rent.
Good feeling among people of different social classes.

1793–1815. PERIOD OF PROSPERITY:
During the Napoleonic wars. Much land brought into cultivation. Demand for wheat and other farm products.
Prosperity of upper class: High rents for land.
middle class: High price for corn.
lower class: Doles to supplement wages.

1815–50. PERIOD OF DEPRESSION:
Much land went out of cultivation.
1815. Corn Law. Inflicted hardship on the poor. Failed to relieve the landowner or the farmer. Rents fell. Prices fluctuated.
Bad harvests in several years.
1834. Doles stopped. Great suffering inflicted on the labourers. Wages improved in course of time.
Gradual improvement after 1837.
1846. Corn Law repealed.

1850–75. PERIOD OF PROSPERITY:
Reasons:
(1) Better methods.
(2) Use of manures and fertilisers.
(3) Introduction of machinery.
(4) Prices steady, in spite of the free import of corn.
(5) Railways facilitated the marketing of produce and the purchase of seed, manures and machinery.

1875–1900. PERIOD OF DEPRESSION:
Reasons:
(1) Unsatisfactory weather conditions in several years—drought, frost, excessive rainfall.

(2) Diseases among farm stock:
Sheep: Liver rot.
Cattle: Foot-and-mouth disease.
Pigs: Swine fever.
(3) Import of cheap wheat from North America, Russia, India and the Argentine.
(4) Import of frozen meat from the Argentine, Australia and New Zealand.
(5) Import of tinned meat from the United States.

Rents fell. Much land went out of cultivation.
Labourers demanded higher wages. Farmers could not afford to pay more. Rural exodus.

1900–14. PERIOD OF IMPROVEMENT:
Scientific agriculture. Research undertaken.
Changed aims of British farmers. Market-gardening. Dairy-farming. Pedigree stock rearing.

1914–20. PERIOD OF PROSPERITY:
In time of war. Import of food restricted. More land under cultivation. High prices.

Since 1920. PERIOD OF DEPRESSION:
Improvement possible with the aid of modern machinery, methods and aims. Importance of co-operative buying and marketing.

39. THE ORGANISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

LOCAL GOVERNMENT:
Deals with local affairs. Of great importance, but subordinate to the national government.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS IN THE MIDDLE AGES:
Shire, Hundred, Manor (or parish) — Still exist, though the hundred is no longer important.

BOROUGHS:
Obtained charters in the Middle Ages. Varied. Many towns possessed close corporations.

1835. *Municipal Corporations Reform Act:*
Councils to consist of councillors and aldermen. Councillors to be directly elected. Aldermen to be elected by the council.

1882. *Municipal Corporations Act:*
Some changes in powers of councils.

COUNTIES:
Governed by justices of the peace, who met in quarter session until 1888.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:

The parish was the unit of local government, but parishes were grouped for many purposes. Variety of groupings, e.g.:
Poor Law unions.
Highway districts.
Burial districts.
Sanitary districts.
School districts.

Disadvantages:
(1) Many areas and many authorities.
(2) Overlapping of areas.
(3) Waste, extravagance, confusion, inefficiency.

1888. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT:

(1) Administrative counties established. Large counties divided into two or three administrative counties (Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, three; Suffolk and Sussex, two; also, the Isle of Ely and the Isle of Wight became separate administrative counties).
(2) County councils to consist of elected councillors and of aldermen chosen by the councils.
(3) Authority of justices of the peace over the counties was abolished, except as regards the police force.
(4) Functions of *some* of the existing district authorities were transferred to county councils.
(5) Towns with over 50,000 people became county boroughs, and were not included in an administrative county.
(6) London became a separate administrative county.

N.B. (*a*) County government remained in the hands of the same class of people as before—the landed gentry.
(*b*) Functions of school boards transferred to county councils in 1902; of boards of guardians in 1930.

LONDON:

1888. Separate administrative county. County council. Included the
1899. City of London and twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs.
1903. London School Board abolished and its functions transferred to the London County Council.
1930. Metropolitan Asylums Board and Metropolitan Boards of Guardians abolished and their functions transferred to the London County Council.
Metropolitan Water Board remains.

1894. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT:

(1) Sanitary districts became urban and rural districts of administrative counties.
(2) District councils similar to those of boroughs and counties, except that they did not contain aldermen.
(3) Parish councils in rural parishes.
(4) Parish meetings in very small rural parishes.

FUNCTIONS OF LOCAL COUNCILS:

Essential:

Drainage, road-making, street-lighting, extinction of fires, provision of schools, etc.

Optional:

Parks, museums, libraries, markets, allotments, etc.

Municipal trading:

Some councils control the supply of electricity, gas and water, and run tramcars and omnibuses.

VARIATIONS AND ANOMALIES:

(1) By special acts of Parliament.

(2) Great differences in the size and population of areas of equal status.

40. SOME RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CONDITION OF THE CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY:

Did not provide adequately for the spiritual needs of the people. Bishops interested in political life and in the maintenance of ecclesiastical privilege. Parish clergy of good social status, but not earnest in religious work. Many exceptions.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT:

Led by Keble, Pusey and Newman.

1833. Keble's sermon on National Apostasy.

Tracts for the Times:

Explained the doctrines of the Church of England, especially concerning the sacraments and apostolic succession.

Tract XC (Newman). Asserted that the doctrines contained in the Thirty-nine Articles were not inconsistent with those of the medieval Church, i.e., that the Reformation had involved no change of Church doctrine.

Acute controversy.

Newman seceded to the Church of Rome.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ANGLO-CATHOLICISM:

(1) Revival of medieval ceremonial and ritual, as adjuncts to a deeper spiritual life.

(2) Prominence afforded to the service of Holy Communion.

(3) Prejudice and opposition. Overcome.

1874. (4) Successful resistance to the Public Worship Regulation Act. Never repealed, but no longer enforced.

(5) Activity in social work.

THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT:

Led by Charles Simeon.

Evangelicals laid emphasis on the spiritual life, and regarded

ceremonial as of little importance. Little attention to doctrine of apostolic succession. Co-operated with nonconformists.

MODERNISTS:

Attempted to reconcile traditional theology with scientific progress, by treating much of the former as metaphorical.

THE CHURCH IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY:

(1) The existence of parties is a sign of vitality. Much agreement among the parties.
(2) Hostility of and towards Nonconformists has diminished.
(3) Vigour in
  (*a*) Church building.
  (*b*) Establishment of new parishes.
  (*c*) Establishment of new bishoprics.
  (*d*) Mission work.
(4) Decennial Lambeth Conference of bishops from all parts of the world.

1920. (5) Life and Liberty movement. Establishment of the Church Assembly.

NONCONFORMISTS:

(1) Removal of disabilities during the nineteenth century.
(2) Rights of
  (*a*) Marriage in their own chapels.
  (*b*) Burial in churchyards.
  (*c*) Membership of universities.
(3) Small insistence on doctrine. Importance of the spiritual life.
(4) Tendency towards union among some sects, and co-operation among all.

ROMAN CATHOLICS:

1829. Disabilities removed.
1850. Roman Catholic hierarchy established.
Substantial progress. Building of churches and cathedrals. The Roman Catholic aim is the reconversion of England.

SALVATION ARMY:

Founded by the Rev. William Booth.
Semi-military organisation. Uniforms. Social work.
Encountered hostility in early days.
Holds a large amount of property. Income used for social work.

SCOTLAND:

Divisions among Presbyterians.
1843. Free Church of Scotland formed apart from the Established Church. No difference in doctrine, but Free Church disapproved of the law of patronage.
1874. Law of patronage modified.
1929. Reunion of Free Church with Established Church.

41. CANADA SINCE 1760

1760–74. MILITARY RULE:
Settlements on the St. Lawrence. Population French and Catholic. Only French language and law understood. Settlements ruled by Lord Amherst. French Canadians soon became reconciled to British rule.

1774. QUEBEC ACT:
(1) Canada to become a Crown Colony.
(2) Canada to be ruled by a Governor and Council.
(3) The council to be appointed. No elected members, but some French Canadians were appointed to it.

1774–91. CANADA A CROWN COLONY:
No dissatisfaction with British rule. French Canadians refused to join the Americans in the War of Independence.
Migration of loyalists to Canada. Settlements higher up the St. Lawrence.

1791. CANADA ACT (OR CONSTITUTIONAL ACT):
(1) Upper and Lower Canada to be separated.
(2) A Legislative Assembly in each province.
(*a*) Lower Chamber to be elected.
(*b*) Council to be nominated.
(3) No responsible government.
N.B. Similar Legislative Assemblies were established in
1758. Nova Scotia.
1784. New Brunswick.
1833. Newfoundland.

1791–1840. CANADA AS TWO CROWN COLONIES WITH REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS:
Progress and prosperity. Immigration from Great Britain, especially after the Napoleonic War, of
Discharged soldiers.
Paupers.
Highland crofters.

1837. *Rebellion:*
Led by Papineau and Mackenzie. Easily suppressed.
Lord Durham:
Sent to Canada to investigate the causes of discontent. In his report he recommended the grant of responsible government

1840. REUNION ACT:
(1) The two Canadas reunited.
(2) A Parliament of two houses to be established.
(*a*) Upper House to be nominated for life.
(*b*) Lower House to be elected.
(3) Ministry to be responsible to the lower house.
N.B. (*a*) Responsible government not definitely established until 1846.
(*b*) Newfoundland was given responsible government.

BOUNDARY QUESTION:

1842. Ashburton Treaty. Settled the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick.

1846. Oregon Treaty. Settled the boundary in the prairie regions, and westward to the Pacific, at the forty-ninth parallel.

No fortifications on the boundary line between Canada and the United States.

1867. BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT:

(1) The Dominion of Canada established, consisting of the four provinces of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.
(2) Other provinces might be admitted.
(3) Dominion Parliament to consist of two houses:
  (*a*) Senate. Nominated for life.
  (*b*) House of Commons. Elected.
  (*c*) Ministry responsible to the House of Commons.
(4) Provincial Parliaments, with responsible government, established in each province.
(5) Spheres of action marked out. Any residuum of authority was left to the Dominion.
(6) Governor-General at head of the Dominion; Lieutenant-Governors in the provinces.

EXPANSION OF THE DOMINION:

1870. Manitoba joined.
1871. British Columbia joined, on condition that a transcontinental railway was built within ten years.
1873. Prince Edward Island joined.
1880. All remaining territories and provinces were added to the Dominion.
1905. Territories of Alberta and Saskatchewan became provinces.

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY:

Dominion Government began its construction. Slow progress.
1880. Company formed to complete the line. Given
  Existing track (670 miles).
  Money (25,000,000 dollars).
  Land needed for the line.
  Belt of land on either side of the line.
  Timber needed in construction.
1885. Line completed.

N.B. (*a*) British Columbia satisfied.
  (*b*) Prairie development possible.

NEWFOUNDLAND:

Refused to join the Dominion.
Dispute with the Dominion about the coast of Labrador. Appeal
1927. to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Decision in favour of Newfoundland.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS:

(1) Population of 10,000,000. Immigration from Great Britain, the United States and Europe.
(2) Chief industries are agriculture, lumbering and mining. Manufactures are being developed.
(3) Trade. Wheat to Great Britain. Timber and minerals to United States.
(4) Tariffs. Preference to trade from Great Britain and other parts of the British Empire.

STATUS OF THE DOMINION:

Independent in all essential respects.
(1) Internal self-government since formation of Dominion.
(2) Separate membership of the League of Nations.
(3) Canadian minister at Washington.

42. AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

EARLY EXPLORATION:

Early 17th cent. Discovery.
1606. Luis de Torres discovered Torres Strait.
1616. Dutch reached west coast of Australia.
1640. Tasman reached south-east coast.
Tasman sighted New Zealand.
1688. } Voyages of William Dampier.
1699. }
1768-79. Captain Cook explored south-east coast and took possession of Australia.

NEW SOUTH WALES:

1788. First convict settlement, at Port Jackson (Sydney). Convicts lazy and insubordinate.
Free settlement by soldiers, emancipists and immigrants with capital.
Development of sheep-farming by squatters, who employed convict shepherds. Export of wool to Great Britain.
1840. Transportation ceased.

TASMANIA:

1803. Convict settlement.
1804. Beginning of free settlement.
Bushranging by escaped convicts. War of extermination against natives.
1835-76. Efforts to preserve native race. Failed.
1856. Transportation ceased. Colony prospered.

WEST AUSTRALIA:

1829. Free settlement. Large grants of land. Too cheap. Labour scarce. No roads and no markets.
1849-68. Transportation. Labour difficulty met.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA:

Founded on principles suggested by Wakefield:

(*a*) Land to be sold at a fair price.

(*b*) This price to be high enough to compel labourers to work for some years before they could afford to buy land.

(*c*) Money received from the sale of land might be used to assist the immigration of labourers.

1836. Adelaide founded. Land twelve shillings per acre—then twenty shillings. Few settlers, since land was obtainable in West Australia for one shilling and sixpence per acre.

Heavy colonial debt. Bankruptcy avoided only through the discovery of copper.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

New South Wales:

1788–1823. Military government (population mainly convict).

1823. Crown Colony. Governor and council of officials. Some non-official members appointed from time to time.

1842. Crown Colony with representative institutions. Council enlarged. Two-thirds of members elected.

1854. Responsible government.

Victoria:

1835. Some small settlements at Port Phillip (Melbourne). Part of New South Wales. No convicts.

1842. Six representatives in the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Communication with Sydney only by sea.

1850. Separated from New South Wales. Crown Colony with representative institutions. Legislative Council.

1851. Gold discovered. Population increased.

1854. Responsible government.

South Australia and Tasmania:

1850. Representative institutions.

1854. Responsible government.

Queensland:

1859. Separated from New South Wales and given responsible government.

West Australia:

Large area and small population. Convicts until 1868. Slower constitutional development.

1829-40. Ruled by Governor alone.

1840. Crown Colony. Governor and council.

1870. Representative institutions.

1890. Responsible government.

FEDERATION:

Difficulties:

(1) Attitude of colonies to each other.

(2) No uniform tariff policy.

(3) Intercolonial tariff barriers.

(4) Railways had not been planned as an Australian system. Variety of gauge.

1897. Convention at Adelaide. Scheme drawn up. Amended. Referendum in all colonies. Accepted.
1900. Australian Commonwealth Act. Commonwealth Parliament and State Parliaments, as in Canada, but residuum of authority left to the States.
1901. Commonwealth established.

AUSTRALIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY:

(1) Loyalty of Commonwealth to British Empire.
(2) No racial problem in Australia.
(3) Aborigines not important.
(4) Fear of the "Yellow peril."

NEW ZEALAND:

1817. Early settlements. Under control of Governor of New South Wales.
1839. British sovereignty proclaimed.
1840. *Treaty of Waitangi:*
Between British and Maoris.
(1) Maoris accepted protection and sovereignty of Great Britain.
(2) Maori rights to ownership of land recognised.
(3) Private sale and purchase of land forbidden. Land to be purchased only by the Government and sold only by a tribe as a whole (to prevent spoliation of natives by land speculators).
1841. Crown Colony.
1841. New Zealand Company formed. Encouraged settlement, but violated Treaty of Waitangi.
1845. Captain Grey became Governor. Won confidence of natives. Limited activities of the Company.
1851. Company abolished.
1852. Responsible government. Two Houses. Four Maori representatives in the lower House.
1860-71. *Maori War:*
Due to encroachments on Maori lands. Guerrilla fighting. Captain Grey again Governor. Peace restored.
1900. New Zealand refused to join the Commonwealth of Australia.
1907. New Zealand proclaimed to be a Dominion, with a Governor-General.

43. BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

EARLY HISTORY:

1652. Dutch settlement. Port of call on the way to India.
After 1685. Huguenot settlers. Absorbed by Dutch.
Interior penetration. Lonely farms. Enslavement of Hottentots.

1795. Annexed by Great Britain with the consent of the Dutch Stadtholder.
1802. Restored to Holland.
1806. Again annexed.
1814. Retained by Great Britain. Compensation paid to Dutch Government.

BRITISH SETTLEMENT:

After 1815. Many settlers from Great Britain. Boers and British acted together against natives, who were numerous. Dutch language and law. Slavery.

EARLY CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

1806-33. Military rule.
1825. Council of officials to assist Governor.
1833. Crown Colony. Governor and two councils.
(*a*) Executive Council. Officials.
(*b*) Legislative Council. Officials, with some other members (appointed, not elected).

ANTAGONISM OF BRITISH AND BOERS:

1828. (1) Abolition of Boer local government. Appointment of British resident magistrates.
1828. (2) English became the official language.
1828. (3) Free natives given rights of citizenship.
1833. (4) Abolition of slavery.
(5) British determination to protect natives from oppression by the Boers, whose attitude to them was based on their Calvinistic theology.
1834. (6) British Government's refusal to fix a satisfactory boundary line after the Kaffir War. Led to the Great Trek.

THE GREAT TREK:

1836. Across Orange River. Formation of the Orange Free State.
1836. Across Vaal River. Formation of the Transvaal.
1838. To the north-east. Settlement in Natal.
1839. British followed Boers into Natal.
1842. British annexation of Natal. Declared to be part of Cape Colony. Natal Boers trekked into the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.
1843. Natal became a separate Crown Colony, under a Lieutenant-Governor who was to be subject to the Governor of Cape Colony.

BRITISH AND BOERS AFTER THE TREK:

British Government unwilling to accept further responsibility But
(*a*) Boers needed protection against native attack.
(*b*) Natives needed protection against Boer oppression.
1848. Orange Free State annexed.
1852. Sand River Convention. Transvaal independent.
1854. Convention of Bloemfontein. Orange Free State independent.

LATER CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

Cape Colony:

1853. Crown Colony with representative institutions. Two elected chambers. Natives allowed to vote. No responsible government.

1872. Responsible government.

Natal:

1856. Crown Colony with representative institutions. As in the Cape, but natives not allowed to vote. (Natives very numerous in Natal.)

1893. Responsible government.

BOERS AND ZULUS:

1877. Zulu attack threatened. Boer republics annexed by Great Britain for their own protection.

1879. Zulu War. Zulus defeated.

1881. Boer War. Battle of Majuba Hill. Boer victory over British. Gladstone decided to recognise Boer independence.

DIAMONDS:

In Griqualand West, on the border of the Orange Free State. Partly in Boer territory.

1870. Discovery of diamonds. Kimberley came into existence.

1871. Griqualand West annexed. Boer Government unable to maintain order in a remote mining camp.

Supply of diamonds at first thought to be limited. Now regarded as practically inexhaustible.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Limited, formed to control output and to market the diamonds. Illicit diamond buying treated as a serious offence. Industry well-organised. Native labour

GOLD:

On the Witwatersrand, in the Transvaal. Low-grade ore. Crushed by machinery. Cyanide process. Industry carried on by companies with capital.

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY:

1889. Formed by Cecil Rhodes.

Acquired rights over territories north and west of the Transvaal. Rhodesia.

Railway construction. Transcontinental railway between Cairo and Cape Town planned.

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL:

Many British settled in the Transvaal. Employed either directly in the mining industry or in occupations connected with it. No political rights. Boers (under President Kruger) levied heavy taxation on Uitlanders. Very difficult for Uitlanders to become naturalised citizens of the Transvaal.

1895. Jameson raid into the Transvaal. Defeated.

Position of Uitlanders became more difficult. Negotiations between British and Boer Governments failed.

1899–1902. SOUTH AFRICAN WAR:

Causes:

(1) Position of Uitlanders in the Transvaal.

(2) Boer contempt for British power after the Battle of Majuba Hill.

Events:

Boers invaded Cape Colony and Natal. Sieges of Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking. All resisted successfully.

Large army under Roberts and Kitchener. Republics conquered. Isolated parties of Boers held out for some time.

1902. Boer republics annexed as Crown Colonies.

BRITISH POLICY AFTER THE WAR:

(1) Diamond mines soon restarted.

(2) Labour difficulty in restarting the gold mines. Imported Chinese coolies, as indentured labourers. Outcry against

1906. "Chinese slavery" in Great Britain. Heavy Conservative defeat at general election.

(3) British efforts to reduce racial animosity.

GRANT OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT TO THE BOERS:

1906. To the Transvaal. Botha became Prime Minister. System of Chinese labour brought to an end.

1907. To the Orange River Colony (which was soon allowed to resume its former name—Orange Free State).

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA:

Boer colonies landlocked. Customs convention for a few years.

1910. *The Union:*

(1) The four provinces united. Separate Parliaments abolished.

(2) Railways to become property of Union. Income not to be used for relief of taxation, but to be applied to extensions and improvements.

EUROPEAN WAR:

(1) Boer revolt under De Wet. Crushed by British and loyal Boers.

(2) Conquest of German South-West Africa.

(3) South African assistance to the allies in Europe.

44. BRITISH INFLUENCE IN EGYPT

1841–79. EGYPT UNDER EUROPEAN PROTECTION:

1841. *Mehemet Ali:*

Recognised, by the Treaty of London, as hereditary pasha of Egypt.

Said:

Granted concession to Ferdinand de Lesseps to construct Suez Canal.

Ismail:
Assumed title of Khedive. Extravagant. Debt.

1875. Sold his shares in the canal company. They were bought by Disraeli for the British Government.

1876. Ismail bankrupt. Refused payment of interest on his loans. Joubert and Goschen visited Egypt to investigate the state of the finances.

1879. Ismail deposed.

1879–82. EGYPT UNDER THE DUAL CONTROL:

Tewfik:
Khedive. British and French financiers attempted to restore order in Egyptian finances. Egyptian resentment at the presence of foreigners.

1882. *Arabi Pasha's Rebellion:*
Seymour bombarded Alexandria.
Wolseley landed at Ismailia. Battle of Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi Pasha defeated. Captured and exiled.
French refused to co-operate with British in suppressing the rebellion.

1882–1914. EGYPT UNDER BRITISH CONTROL:

Position of British in Egypt:
As advisers to the Khedive. No other official position. No intention to retain permanent control.

The Sudan:
Some garrisons to keep order. Rise of the Mahdi and the

1883. Dervishes. Religious fanatics. Took up arms. Hicks Pasha slain.
Gordon sent to withdraw garrisons. Critical position. Relief expedition under Wolseley. Too late. Gordon murdered. Sudan abandoned.

1898. *Reconquest of the Sudan:*
Railway construction. Expedition under Kitchener. Battle of Omdurman. Dervishes overthrown.
Sudan peaceful and orderly. Cotton growing.

Attitude of the French:
Resentment at the British occupation of Egypt.

1899. Marchand at Fashoda. Danger of war between Great Britain and France. Marchand withdrew.

1904. Anglo-French Convention. French recognised British position in Egypt.

British work in Egypt:
Railways and canals constructed.
Irrigation works—dams and reservoirs.
Increase in cultivable area.
Improvement in public finances.
Lower scale of taxation.
Improvement in public health.
Public education.
Reorganisation of Egyptian courts.
Establishment of a police force.

1914–22. EGYPT A BRITISH PROTECTORATE:

Connection with Turkey ended at the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey. Khedive deposed. Sultan appointed.

Turkish attack on the canal repulsed.

EGYPT INDEPENDENT:

1922. Protectorate renounced.

Egypt granted self-government, with some reservations, the most important being in connection with the defence of the canal.

45. INDIA SINCE 1858

1858. INDIA ACT:

(1) Declared the sovereignty of the queen over India.
(2) Secretary of State for India in London.
(3) Viceroy in India, with Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Commissioners subordinate to him.

INDIAN EMPIRE:

1877. Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India.

THE VICEROYS:

Men of high rank and great capacity. Whole-hearted devotion of Viceroys and other high officials to their work.

NATIVE PRINCES:

It has not been British aim to eliminate native princes nor to annex native states. The only important annexation since
1887. 1858 has been Burmah.

Native rulers advised by British residents. No interference except for gross misrule. If a native prince is deposed, another is set up in his place.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER:

1878-80. Afghan War.

Wars against hill tribes in the north-west towards the end of the century.

Frontier problem less acute after agreement with Russia about spheres of influence.

COMMUNICATIONS:

Under East India Company:

Very primitive.

Roads:

Construction begun under Dalhousie.

Railways:

Difficulty of construction. All materials imported. Unsuitability of natives for railway work. Caste difficulties. Two gauges, 5 ft. 6 in. and metre. About 20,000 miles of each gauge. Of great importance in connection with famine relief.

IRRIGATION WORKS:

India mainly agricultural. Success of cultivation dependent on the monsoons. Rains sometimes deficient.

Irrigation works to supply deficiency.

(*a*) Wells in the Ganges valley.
(*b*) Tanks in southern India.
(*c*) Irrigation canals in many provinces.

Many new regions have been brought into cultivation, and others have become more prosperous, through irrigation.

FAMINE RELIEF:

Failure of crops due to failure of monsoon. Never happens everywhere at the same time. In time past famines were due to the impossibility of transporting food from provinces where it was plentiful to those where it was scarce. This difficulty has been overcome by the construction of railways.

Meteorological service to measure the amount of rainfall. Deficiency reported. Proclamation of provinces as famine areas. Relief works opened. Food brought in from other provinces and distributed.

System well organised. Deaths no longer occur from famine.

With the extension of irrigation works the proclamation of famine areas becomes less frequent.

PUBLIC HEALTH:

High death-rate from infectious and preventible diseases.

Western ideas of sanitation and cleanliness introduced. Indian peasants unwilling to co-operate. Need for education.

EDUCATION:

Backward. Peasants illiterate. Some boys receive instruction. Very few girls educated.

NATIONALITY:

Great variety of races and religions in India. No Indian nation. Very little travelling and intermixture until the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Natives appointed to official positions in
civil service,
Indian army,
courts of law,
Viceroy's council.

Aspirations for responsible government.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS:

1919. *Government of India Act:*

(1) Legislature of two chambers, each partly elected and partly nominated.
(2) Limited electorate.
(3) Government not responsible to legislature.
(4) Viceroy can override decisions of legislature.

1927. *Simon Commission:*
To examine the whole problem of Indian government, and to make recommendations.

Responsible government:
The ultimate goal of constitutional progress. Will probably be attained at some time in the future.

46. THE BRITISH EMPIRE

COMPONENT PARTS:

Great Britain:
Political centre of the Empire.

Self-governing Dominions:
Enjoy responsible government and dominion status.
Government responsible to the Parliament of the Dominion.
Dominion possesses full rights, including power to make its own laws, to frame tariffs, to be represented in foreign countries, and to obtain membership of the League of Nations.
Crown represented by a Governor-General.
The self-governing dominions are Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland and the Irish Free State.

Colonies which possess responsible government with reservations:
Enjoy responsible government, but certain matters remain under British control. These colonies do not possess full dominion status.
Colonies of this group include Northern Ireland, Malta and Southern Rhodesia.

Colonies with representative institutions:
Legislative Assembly makes laws and levies taxes.
Government not responsible to Assembly.
Sometimes this is a stage towards responsible government.
Colonies of this group include Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, Mauritius, Ceylon and Fiji.

Colonies without representative institutions:
(1) With Governor and nominated council or councils. Include Kenya Colony, Gibraltar, Trinidad and Tanganyika.
(2) Governor alone, e.g. St. Helena.

Protectorates:
Native population under native ruler. British Resident to advise ruler. No interference unless native rule becomes very unsatisfactory, when ruler is deposed, Resident becomes Governor and protectorate becomes colony.
Foreign relations controlled by British Government.
Protectorates include Kenya Protectorate, Nyasaland, Somaliland, Swaziland and Uganda.

Spheres of Influence:

Areas within which other powers undertake not to acquire influence.

Include regions in Arabia and in the Persian Gulf.

Mandatory Spheres:

Territories entrusted by the League of Nations to Great Britain or to one of the dominions for the maintenance of order, the development of resources, and the establishment of good government.

Great Britain holds mandates for Palestine, Mesopotamia, and former German possessions in East Africa.

Australia holds a mandate for New Guinea.

New Zealand holds a mandate for Samoa.

South Africa holds a mandate for the former German South-West Africa.

Indian Empire:

Not a colony. Possesses representative institutions.

CONNECTION WITH GREAT BRITAIN:

(1) Allegiance is due from all parts of the Empire to the king. Without the king the Empire would fall to pieces.

(2) Authority of the British Parliament:

(*a*) Can legislate for the Empire, except for the dominions.

(*b*) Can create colonial Parliaments.

(*c*) Can abolish colonial Parliaments.

(*d*) The laws of colonies other than dominions may not conflict with British statute law applicable to the colony.

This authority is theoretical, and could not be used to any considerable extent.

(3) Crown is able to veto colonial laws. Right of veto is used only in the interests of the Empire as a whole.

(4) Equality of status of the dominions and Great Britain. Declared by the Imperial Conference of 1926. Legalised by the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

(5) Appeal from colonial courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

(6) Foreign policy controlled by Great Britain. Dominions represented abroad by British ambassadors, or (in a few cases) by their own representatives.

(7) Great Britain responsible for imperial defence. No legal obligation upon dominions to assist. They give ready assistance in war, as in the European War.

(8) Large volume of trade.

Great Britain receives food and raw materials from the dominions and colonies, and they receive British manufactured goods.

Great Britain follows a policy of Free Trade. Colonies and dominions are protectionist, but they give preferences to British merchandise.

47. THE EUROPEAN WAR AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CAUSES OF THE WAR:

(1) Growth of German power during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth.

(2) Formation of alliances. Germany with Austria and some Balkan States. France with Russia.

(3) Competition in armaments.
Military: Germany and France.
Naval: Germany and Great Britain.

(4) German need for colonies. Germany was late in the "scramble" for tropical lands.

IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE WAR:

1914 (June) Murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, at Sarajevo, in Bosnia. Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. Followed by war.

ALLIANCES:

Great Britain, France, Russia, Serbia, Belgium, Italy, Roumania — *v.* — Germany, Austria, Turkey, Bulgaria.

BRITISH ATTITUDE:

Entered war because of German invasion of Belgium.

OUTLINE OF THE EVENTS OF THE WAR:

(1) German invasion of France. Failure to reach Paris. Trench warfare on a line between the Swiss frontier and the North Sea. Constant bombardment. Occasional great battles.

(2) Russian attack on Germany and Austria in the east. Russian disaster at Tannenburg. Some successes against Austrians at first. Afterwards defeated. Russians badly equipped. Discontent. Revolution in Russia. Withdrew from the war at the end of 1917.

1916. (3) Italy entered the war. Successes against Austrians in 1916. Austrian successes against Italians in 1917. British and French help needed to avert Austrian conquest of north Italy.

(4) In the Balkans:
(*a*) British attack on the central powers from Salonika.
(*b*) British attempt to capture the Gallipoli peninsula and force the Dardanelles.

(5) In Asia:
(*a*) Mesopotamia conquered from the Turks.
(*b*) Palestine conquered from the Turks after the failure of their attack on the Suez Canal.

(6) Naval blockade of the German coast. German raids on
1916. British coast. Battle of Jutland. Germans failed to break the blockade.

(7) German blockade of Great Britain, by means of submarines. Heavy losses sustained by the British mercantile marine. Submarines energetically attacked by the British navy.

1917. (8) United States entered the war after the beginning of "unrestricted" submarine warfare. American army in Europe. American navy co-operated with British. Great moral effect on the central powers.

1918. (9) Final German and Austrian attacks. Failure. Great suffering in Germany from the effects of the blockade. Collapse of Turkey and Bulgaria followed by that of Germany and Austria. Armistice.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WAR:

(1) Heavy artillery bombardment.
(2) Trench warfare.
(3) Use of poison gas.
(4) Mines and torpedoes at sea.
(5) Submarines.
(6) Aerial warfare:
  (*a*) Air raids on towns.
  (*b*) Air duels in the battle areas.
(7) Heavy lists of casualties.

1919. TREATY OF VERSAILLES:

(1) Germany to pay for the damage caused by the war, as far as possible.
(2) Army of occupation in the Rhineland for fifteen years.
(3) German territories reduced.
(4) Poland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania became independent republics.
(5) France received Alsace-Lorraine.
(6) Denmark received Schleswig.
(7) Austrian territory reduced.
(8) Italy received a strip of Adriatic coast, including Trieste.
(9) Czechoslovakia formed out of Bohemia and other Austrian lands.
(10) Yugoslavia formed from Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina and some other Austrian lands.
(11) German colonies placed in the charge of victorious nations under mandates from the League of Nations.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

Covenant:
Embodied in the Treaty of Versailles. Members undertook to submit their disputes to the League instead of going to war.

Organisation:
Assembly: Included representatives of all member-states. Annual meeting.

Council: Included representatives of the great powers singly and of the smaller powers collectively. Meeting three times a year.

Membership:

All nations invited to join. Over fifty states joined at first and several have joined since. Self-governing dominions of the British Empire are separate members. Germany has been admitted. Russia and the United States are not members, but they co-operate with the League in some ways.

Aims of the League:

(1) The prevention of war.
(2) The renunciation of secret diplomacy. (Members undertake to register treaties with the League.)
(3) The establishment of a Court of International Justice at The Hague.
(4) The establishment of an International Labour Bureau for the improvement of labour conditions.
(5) The reduction of armaments. Failure, so far.

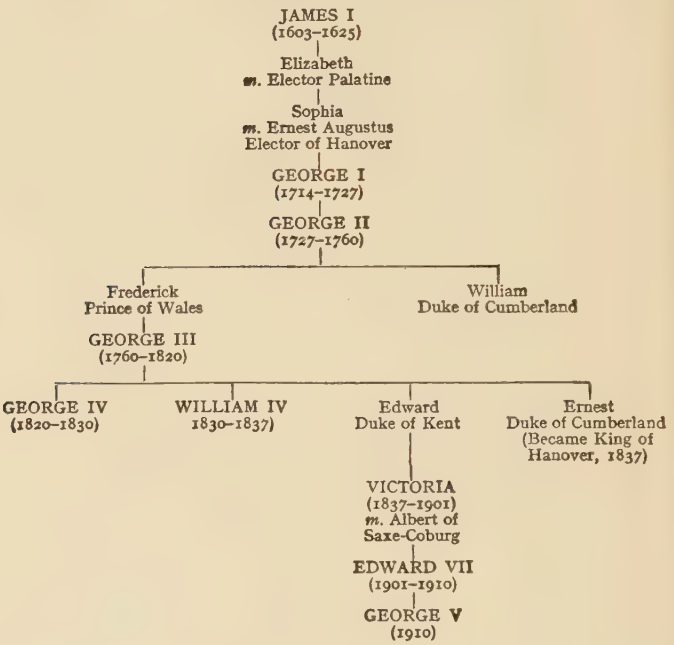
Progress of the League:

Weakened at first by
(1) Non-inclusion of the United States, Germany and Russia.
(2) The attitude of many European statesmen.

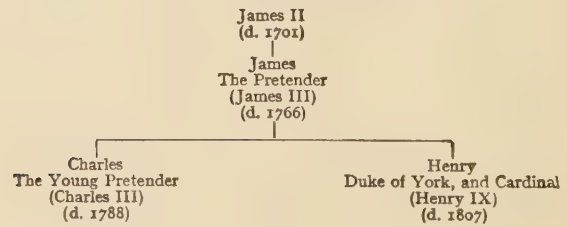
Strengthened in course of time by
(1) Admission of Germany.
(2) Public opinion all over the world.
(3) Changed attitude of European statesmen.
(4) Vigorous support of the smaller states.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

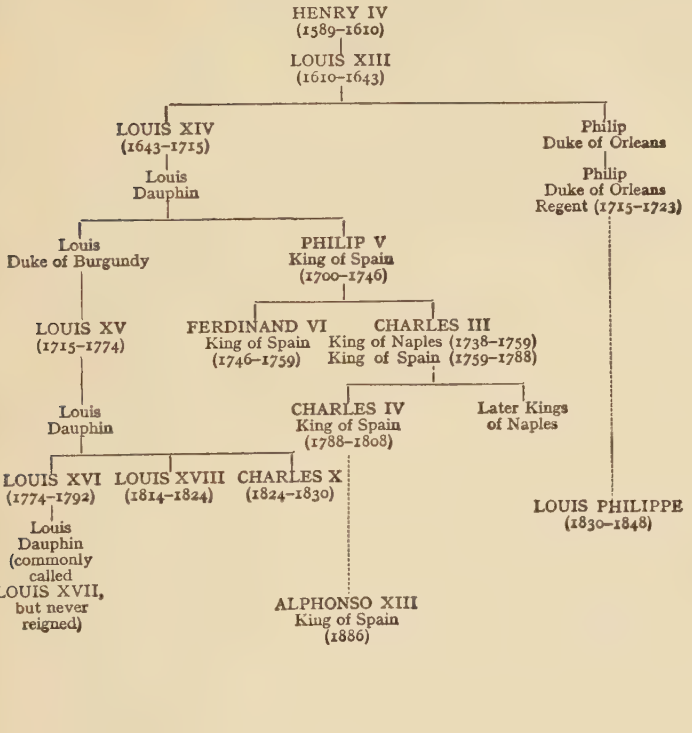
THE HOUSES OF HANOVER, SAXE-COBURG AND WINDSOR



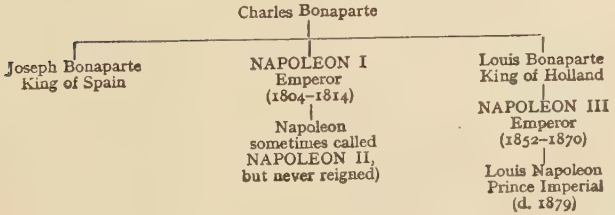
THE STUARTS IN EXILE



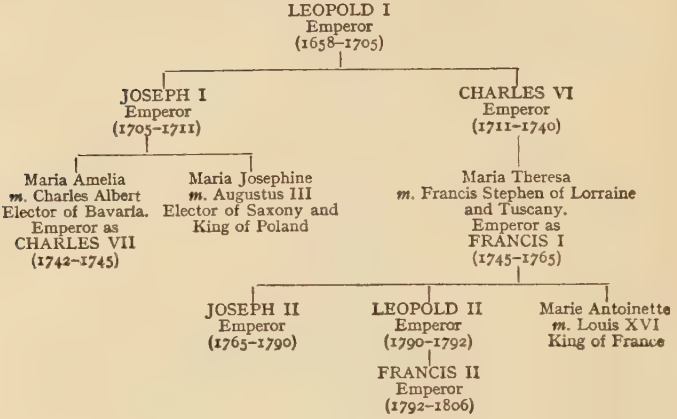
THE BOURBON KINGS OF FRANCE, SPAIN, AND NAPLES



THE BONAPARTES



THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG



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